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TESTING THE INFLUENCE OF RURAL AND URBAN ENVIRONMENT ON A.C.E. INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES*

CHARLES W. NELSON

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Points of interest. Can rural-urban differences in intelligence scores be explained by differences in education? In selection? Evidence from a breakdown of the tests themselves. This paper and the next two supplement and serve as critical commentaries upon one another. [Ed.]

NEARLY ALL studies of rural-urban intelligence find that rural groups fall below urban groups in intelligence test scores. Whether such differences in intelligence scores reveal differences in innate or acquired characteristics has been a traditional point of contention between psychologists and sociologists.

The psychologists hold that the differences between rural and urban groups on test performance largely indicate innate biological differences. If their position is correct a serious genetic problem is revealed, for the supposedly inferior rural stock produces proportionately more children than the superior urban stock.¹ The sociologists, however, have put up a lusty argument for the contrary hypothesis: that the lower achievements of rural people on intelligence tests is not due to a lack of innate ability but rather to differences in environmental backgrounds. Intelligence tests, they say, are standardized on urban people and do not take into account differences between rural and urban backgrounds.² As Sims³ expresses it, "Such tests

* Published as Scientific Paper No. 537, Division of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington.

¹ According to the 1940 Census, the replacement rate of cities is .74, or more than one-fourth less than that required to maintain a stationary population. The rate for rural non-farm areas was 1.14 and that for farmers, 1.44. "Net Reproduction Rates by States," Preliminary Reports of the *Sixteenth Census of the U. S., 1940*, Series P-5, No. 13, August 23, 1941.

² For a discussion of this problem and the traditional sociological point of view, see any of the following: J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes*, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1941, Chap. XI; Newell Leroy Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, Third Edition, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1940, Chap. IX; T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940, Chap. VI; Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929, Chap. XI.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 202-203.

disclose only measured intelligence; not innate ability. Presumably the difference between the urban and rural children is due to the difference in educational systems of the two environments." It must be admitted that most intelligence tests are based on the assumption that previous education has provided the student with knowledge of such test materials as arithmetic and vocabulary. If the rural school fails to provide the student with sufficient knowledge of arithmetic and vocabulary its students obviously would be handicapped in answering questions based on these materials.

Foster home placement studies prove beyond doubt that differences in environmental backgrounds can and in extreme cases do affect individual test scores. However, this does not answer the more general question as to whether or not differences between rural and urban environments actually explain the lower test scores of rural students as a whole. It is one thing to prove that environment can influence test scores in extreme cases and quite another to prove that it actually does when large population groups are considered. If the major problem of rural-urban differences is to be solved, comparisons of normal population groups are necessary rather than arguments based on case studies which admittedly represent abnormal cases.

This paper approaches the problem by measuring the differential influence of rural and urban environments on the intelligence scores of large population groups. Specifically, it contrasts the influence of rural and urban backgrounds on test scores made on the American Council on Education Psychological Examination⁴ by 1061 freshmen who entered the State College of Washington in the fall of 1936.

Like most intelligence tests the A.C.E. test is standardized on an urban group. It may be divided into two major parts: (1) sections based on educational background; and (2) sections based on unique materials. Both try to minimize the differential effects of general environment; the first by assuming that a common educational background has made the test materials equally familiar to both rural and urban groups, the second by assuming that the test materials are equally unique or novel for both groups. Obviously, it is only the first part of the test, that based on educational background, which is really subject to the sociologists' criticism that the test score may be affected by differences in previous educational training.

Of the five sections in the A.C.E. test, three, "Completion," "Arithmetic," and "Opposites," are based on the assumption that all college freshmen will have had approximately equivalent training in the basic materials used. Let us examine each section for environmental influences.

1. The "Completion" section is made up of a series of definitions in which the word being defined is to be supplied. For example: "A (4) is a contest of speed." The "4" in parentheses indicates that a four letter word must be supplied. This shows the necessity of being exposed to the word "race" and the impossibility of

⁴ Prepared by L. L. Thurstone and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone, *The American Council on Education*, Washington, D. C., 1936 Edition.

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completing the sentence without previous knowledge of the specific word. The necessity of specific knowledge, and therefore previous training, is obvious throughout this section.⁵

2. In the "Arithmetic" section the subject is given a series of problems to solve, all of which presuppose training in proportions, averages, etc. Again, one could be seriously handicapped by a lack of school training.

3. The section on "Opposites" contains a series of four words, two of which have the same or opposite meanings. The subject is asked to select the pair in each series which have the same or opposite meanings. Here also the subject must be familiar with each particular word before he can make the correct response.

It is apparent in all three of these test sections that general environmental differences are cancelled out only if students are equally trained. The mental tester must assume that the school systems of rural and urban areas furnish equivalent training in the fields covered by the test. It is this assumption that the sociologist has questioned, claiming that rural schools do not furnish training in these fields equal to that of urban schools.

The other two sections of the A.C.E. test, "Artificial Language" and "Figure Analogies," are based on the assumption that the materials used will be equally unique to all college freshmen.

1. In the "Artificial Language" section the student is provided with a vocabulary and a set of rules, neither of which are like English or any other language. The individual is then asked to indicate whether a series of translations from English into this unique language is correct or incorrect.

While some environmental influences may enter, such as the subject's not being used to following written directions, it is unlikely that this section could be affected as much by previous experience as "Completion," "Arithmetic" and "Opposites" where each individual answer depends upon previous training.

2. In the section on "Figure Analogies" the subject is asked to do certain things in a unique situation. For example:

Directions: In Sample I below Figure A is a large circle. Figure B is a small circle. By what rule is Figure A changed in making Figure B? The rule is "making it smaller." Apply this rule to Figure C which is a large square. The result is a small square. Find the small square in the row of five figures at the right. It is Figure 2. Therefore 2 is written in the blank at the right.⁶



This test should also be relatively free of environmental factors as compared with the "Completion," "Arithmetic," and "Opposites" sections.

The validity of using such sections as "Artificial Language" and "Figure Analogies" as indices of a student's total test ability might be questioned on the assumption that these sections represent some trait peculiar to the urban group or at least not related to general intelligence. Although there is no

⁵ Permission to quote this and other portions of the test has been granted by L. L. Thurstone.

⁶ American Council on Education Psychological Examination, p. 8.

way of knowing exactly what these sections measure, it can be proved that they serve just as well as an index of total intelligence, as measured by the A.C.E. Examination, as any of the other sections. Table I shows, for different intelligence levels, the percentage of the total score made on each section of the test. Except for the "Completion" section the raw score made on each section of the test increases proportionately as the total test score increases, so that the percentage that any section of the test is of the total score tends to remain fairly constant. In other words, except for the "Completion" section, any test section could be relied upon to measure the intelligence of either the rural or the urban groups.

TABLE I. AVERAGE RAW SCORE AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SCORE MADE ON EACH SECTION OF TEST BY 1057 STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON FRESHMEN, 1936, CLASSIFIED BY INTELLIGENCE DECILE

Classification	No. of Cases	Sections Based on Educational Background						Sections Based on Unique Material						Total	
		Completion		Arithmetic		Opposites		Artificial Language		Figure Analogies					
		Aver. Raw Score	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total		
Intelligence Decile:															
1 (Low 10%)	108	16.9	22.6	11.1	14.9	19.9	26.6	14.0	18.7	12.8	17.1	74.7	100.0		
2	118	22.7	21.8	16.4	15.8	28.3	27.2	17.5	16.8	19.4	18.6	104.4	100.0		
3	92	24.4	19.9	18.2	14.8	34.8	28.3	20.9	17.0	24.7	20.1	122.9	100.0		
4	106	27.2	19.9	18.5	13.6	40.2	29.5	22.9	16.8	27.6	20.2	136.4	100.0		
5	102	29.4	19.7	22.6	15.1	41.5	27.8	26.6	17.8	29.3	19.6	149.5	100.0		
6	104	30.8	18.9	24.2	14.8	46.3	28.3	29.5	18.0	32.5	19.9	163.3	100.0		
7	107	33.0	18.3	27.8	15.4	50.0	27.8	34.4	19.1	34.8	19.3	180.0	100.0		
8	118	36.1	18.3	28.4	14.4	58.2	29.6	37.5	19.1	36.4	18.5	196.5	100.0		
9	101	38.7	17.8	36.2	16.6	63.8	29.3	40.9	18.8	37.9	17.4	207.5	100.0		
10 (High 10%)	101	47.6	18.0	44.6	16.8	76.1	28.7	55.0	20.8	41.5	15.7	264.7	100.0		
Total	1057	30.6	19.0	24.7	15.4	45.7	28.5	29.8	18.6	29.6	18.5	160.4	100.0		
Lower 50%	526	24.0	20.6	17.3	14.8	32.7	28.0	20.2	17.3	22.5	19.3	116.7	100.0		
Upper 50%	531	37.1	18.2	32.0	15.7	58.7	28.8	39.3	19.3	36.6	18.0	203.6	100.0		

All sections of the examination were also tested for significant differences in proportions both by contrasting the first decile with the last decile and by contrasting the lower 50 percent with the upper 50 percent. Except for the "Completion" section all differences could have happened at least 41 times out of 100 by chance alone. Consequently there are no statistically significant differences between proportions on any of the sections except for the "Completion" section; there they approached significance in that the difference between the first and last decile could have happened only 9 times out of 100 by chance alone. Furthermore, as the total intelligence increases there is a distinct downward trend in the percentage of total score made on the "Completion" section. This suggests that the "Completion" section does not provide material difficult enough to allow the superior student to differentiate himself from the inferior student as well as he is able to do on other sections of the test.

Inasmuch as there are no significant differences in the proportions of the total score that students of different intelligence levels make on the unique sections of the test we may assume that these sections are good indicators of total intelligence as measured by the A.C.E. examination. We may ex-

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pect the rural students therefore to do as well as the urban students on the unique sections of the test providing they have the same innate intelligence.

An analysis of the effects of rural and urban environments upon the intelligence test scores of students was made by using the records of 1,057 students entering the State College of Washington in 1936. A comparison of the A.C.E. intelligence test scores for 466 rural students⁷ and 580 urban students revealed the typical lower achievement of the rural group on total average test scores. It will be seen (Table 2) that the scores range upward, with but two exceptions, from small to large places and that the average raw score for all rural students (places under 2,500) is 10.2 points lower than the average raw score of all urban students (places of 2,500 and over).

TABLE 2. TOTAL AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE SCORE OF STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON
FRESHMEN BY SIZE OF PLACE

Size of Place	Number of Cases	Total Average Raw Score
1-249	100	153.3
250-999	229	152.9
1,000-2,499	137	157.6
2,500-9,999	203	156.6
10,000-49,999*	154	164.9
100,000 and over	223	171.7
Total cases	1,046**	160.0
Rural (Under 2,500)	466	154.4
Urban (2,500 and over)	580	164.6

* There are no cities in Washington of 50,000 to 100,000 population, therefore this classification is omitted.

** Three cases were from outside the United States and there was no information on the size of the town for 8 cases. These are omitted. *These footnotes apply also to Tables 3, 4, 5.*

Tests of statistical significance were run both between scores of those from the smallest and the largest places and between rural and urban population groups. The difference of 18.41 points between achievements of those from the smallest and the largest places and the difference of 10.2 points between rural and urban population groups could have happened by chance only six times in ten thousand. These are both highly significant differences.

Although the rural students are undoubtedly lower than the urban students on the test scores the question of selection immediately arises. Do the students coming to the State College of Washington from rural and urban areas represent normal cross sections of their respective high school populations? If not, the differences observed might be explained by selection. In order to test this possibility the average ranking of the respective groups in their local high schools was obtained. Presumably if selection of the poorer types of rural students had occurred it would be reflected in a low percentile rank in their rural high school graduating classes.

⁷ Students were classified by home address which was given as the nearest town. It was not possible to isolate open-country cases. If it had been possible, even greater differences in score might have been observed.

The percentile averages in Table 3 were obtained from two sources: first from the individual's actual rank in his total graduating class, and second, from his quartile ranking. The second, a somewhat rougher measure, was used in addition to the first because it was reported more frequently. Percentiles using both methods are directly comparable and agree in showing that selection from the top level of the high school class is more common in rural than in urban areas. Hence, since the superior performance of urban students on the A.C.E. intelligence test cannot be explained by differential selection, we are in a fair position to test the hypothesis that the difference in intelligence test score is due to environmental factors.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE HIGH SCHOOL PERCENTILE RANK AS DETERMINED BY EXACT RANK IN CLASS AND BY QUARTILE RANKINGS, FOR ENTERING STUDENTS, BY SIZE OF TOWN

Size of Places	Total No. of Cases	Based on Exact Rank in Class		Based on Quartile Ratings	
		No. of Cases	Average Percentile	No. of Cases	Average Percentile
1-249	100	77	67	98	66
250-999	229	176	66	226	64
1,000-2,499	137	98	68	132	65
2,500-9,999	203	148	58	186	46
10,000-49,999	154	143	59	152	57
100,000 and over	223	153	58	219	56

One method of testing this hypothesis is to compare the average raw scores made by rural and urban students on the different parts of the test. The average raw scores made on each section by the students of the most rural group (1-249 population) are used as bases for the index values and the scores of all other population groups are related to them (Table 4).

TABLE 4. AVERAGE RAW SCORE AND ITS INDEX VALUE FOR EACH SECTION OF THE TEST BY SIZE OF TOWN

Size of Town	No. of Cases	Sections Based on Educational Background						Sections Based upon Unique Material			
		Completion		Arithmetic		Opposites		Artificial Language		Figure Analogies	
		Aver. Raw Score	Index Value	Aver. Raw Score	Index Value	Aver. Raw Score	Index Value	Aver. Raw Score	Index Value	Aver. Raw Score	Index Value
1-249	100	29.6	100.0	26.5	100.0	41.5	100.0	27.7	100.0	28.0	100.0
250-999	229	29.5	99.7	24.0	90.7	42.9	90.7	27.8	100.4	28.7	102.5
1,000-2,499	137	30.5	103.0	23.7	89.4	45.4	109.4	29.0	104.7	28.9	103.2
2,500-9,999	203	29.8	100.7	24.0	90.7	44.8	108.0	28.9	104.3	28.9	103.2
10,000-49,999	154	31.2	105.4	25.9	97.7	46.5	112.0	29.9	107.9	31.4	112.1
100,000 over	223	32.3	109.1	24.5	92.5	50.6	121.9	33.5	120.9	30.8	110.0
Total Cases	1,046	30.5	103.0	24.6	92.8	45.6	109.9	29.7	107.2	29.5	105.4

It will be observed that the rural students fail to do as well as the urban students in the sections based on unique material. If they had the same innate intelligence they would be expected to do as well as urban students on "Artificial Language" and "Figure Analogies" for these sections do not depend upon previous educational training. It has already been demonstrated that these are as good indicators of intelligence as the other sections of the

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test. Second, youth from places of 1-249 population do better on "Arithmetic" which is subject to school training than do the urban students from the largest population centers (100,000 and over). Apparently some rural youth have better training in arithmetic than do urban youth and therefore are certainly not handicapped in this section by environment.

A second method of checking the environmental hypothesis is to calculate the percentage of the total average raw score made by rural and urban students on each of the five sections. Table 5 shows the percentage that each group made of its total average raw score on each test section.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL AVERAGE RAW SCORE MADE ON EACH SECTION OF TEST BY SIZE OF TOWN

Size of Town	No. of Cases*	Sections Based on Educational Background			Sections Based on Unique Material		Total	
		Completion	Arithmetic	Opposites	Artificial Language	Figure Analogies		
		% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	Aver. Raw Score	% of Total
1-249	100	19.3	17.3	27.1	18.1	18.2	153.3	100.0
250-999	229	19.3	15.7	28.0	18.2	18.8	152.9	100.0
1,000-2,499	137	19.4	15.0	28.8	18.5	18.3	157.6	100.0
2,500-9,999	203	19.0	15.4	28.6	18.5	18.5	156.6	100.0
10,000-49,999	154	18.9	15.7	28.2	18.1	19.1	164.9	100.0
100,000 over	223	18.8	14.3	29.5	19.5	17.9	171.7	100.0
Total Cases	1,046	19.1	15.4	28.5	18.5	18.5	160.0	100.0
Rural (1-2,499)	466	19.3	15.8	28.1	18.3	18.5	154.4	100.0
Urban (2,500 over)	580	18.9	15.1	28.8	18.8	18.4	164.6	100.0

If rural students are handicapped by the sections based on educational background they would be expected to make a smaller percentage of their total score on these sections of the test than would the urban students. However, rural students make as high a proportion of their total score on the sections based on educational background as do the urban students.

TABLE 6. A COMPARISON OF RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS WITH RESPECT TO THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL AVERAGE RAW SCORE THAT EACH SECTION OF THE TEST CONTRIBUTED (Based on 466 Rural Cases and 580 Urban Cases)

Section of Test	Percent of Total Average Raw Score		Difference (Rural Percent Minus Urban Percent)	Probability (No. of Times Out of 100 Difference Could Happen by Chance)
	Rural	Urban		
Total: Average Raw Score	154.4	164.6		
Percent	100.0	100.0		
Sections Based on Educational Background:				
Completion	19.3	18.9	+ .4	87
Arithmetic	15.8	15.1	+ .7	75
Opposites	28.1	28.8	- .7	80
Sections Based on Unique Materials:				
Artificial Language	18.3	18.8	- .5	83
Figure Analogies	18.5	18.4	+ .1	97

A comparison of percentages that rural groups (population 1-2,499) and urban groups (population 2,500 and over) made of their respective total average scores on each section of the test is given in Table 6. Tests of the significance of the differences were run and are reported in the last column.⁸

Although there are no significant differences in percentage between rural and urban groups on any section of the test it is interesting to note that rural students exceed the urban on "Completion" and "Arithmetic" leaving "Opposites" as the only test based on previous training which favors the urban group. Even if these differences were large enough to become significant they would not support the hypothesis that the differences between rural and urban intelligence are due to differences in educational backgrounds. Actually, the fact that the test was standardized on an urban population seems not to have put the rural people to any disadvantage; rather the differences would suggest that the rural students, if anything, have an advantage on "Completion" and "Arithmetic," both of which are more subject to environmental conditioning than is the test as a whole.

In a further effort to find significant differences between rural and urban groups the most extreme rural group (1-249 population) was contrasted

⁸ The formula used in figuring the probability of those differences between proportions happening by chance is given below with an illustration based on data from Table 6. This illustration considers only groups in the "Completion" section.

Size of Town	No. of Cases	Average Raw Score on Completion	Completion's Percentage of Total Average Raw Score	Total Average Raw Score	Total Percentage
Rural (Under 2,500)	466 (N_1)	29.8	19.3 (P_1)	154.4	100
Urban (2,500 Over)	580 (N_2)	31.1	18.9 (P_2)	164.6	100
Formula:			Illustration:		
				$19.3 - 18.9$	
				$\frac{466 + 580}{466 \cdot 580}$	
				PQ	
				$\frac{N_1 + N_2}{N_1 \cdot N_2}$	
Where $P = \frac{p_1(N_1) + p_2(N_2)}{N_1 + N_2}$			Where $P = \frac{(19.3)(466) + (18.9)(580)}{466 + 580} = .1908$		
$Q = 1.0 - P$			$Q = 1.0 - 0.1908 \text{ or } .8092$		
$N_1 = \text{Total No. rural cases}$			$N_1 = 466$		
$N_2 = \text{Total No. urban cases}$			$N_2 = 580$		
$p_1 = \text{Proportion of total rural raw score made on completion}$			$p_1 = 19.3\% \text{ or } .193$		
$p_2 = \text{Proportion of total urban raw score made on completion}$			$p_2 = 18.9\% \text{ or } .189$		

Looking up .0667 in the table of areas under the normal curve we get .0279. The probability of this happening by chance $= 2(.5000 - .0279) = .9442$, or this difference could happen by chance 94 times out of 100 and is far from being significant.

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with the most extreme urban group (population of 100,000 and over) (Table 7). Again it is seen that rural students do slightly better on the "Completion" and "Arithmetic" sections and somewhat poorer on the "Opposites" section. However, the differences found in this table and in the previous table could have happened by chance too often to serve as the basis for further analysis. The only safe conclusion is that there are no significant differences between rural and urban students in the proportion of total test score that either made on any section of the test. Therefore, the sections based on educational backgrounds are no more biased in favor of the urban group than are the sections based on unique materials.⁹

TABLE 7. CONTRAST OF EXTREME RURAL (UNDER 250) AND URBAN (OVER 100,000) GROUPS BY SECTIONS OF TEST ON PERCENTAGE THAT EACH SECTION IS OF THE TOTAL AVERAGE RAW SCORE (Based on 100 Rural Cases and 223 Urban Cases)

Section of Test	Percentage of Total Average Raw Score		Difference (Rural Percentage Minus Urban Percentage)	Probability (No. of Times Out of 100 Difference Could Happen by Chance)
	Rural	Urban		
Total: Average Raw Score	153.3	171.7		
Per Cent	100.0	100.0		
Sections Based on Educational Background:				
Completion	19.3	18.8	+ .5	91
Arithmetic	17.3	14.3	+3.0	48
Opposites	27.1	29.5	-2.4	66
Sections Based on Unique Materials:				
Artificial Language	18.1	19.5	-1.4	76
Figure Analogies	18.2	17.9	+ .3	94

From the evidence reviewed we must reject the hypothesis that the lower score of the rural students on the American Council on Education intelligence test is due to the differential effects of rural and urban environments. The rural students fail to do as well as the urban students in the unique sections of the test. These sections are valid indicators of intelligence as measured by the A.C.E. Examination. Further, the rural students tend to exceed the urban students in proportion of their total score made on "Completion" and "Arithmetic" sections, which might be affected by school training. On all phases of the intelligence test except arithmetic, the rural students fall below the urban in intelligence rating.

⁹ In a further effort to find environmental factors which might explain the inferiority of rural students on intelligence test scores, the same sample of students has been analyzed in terms of the size of the high school and occupational class from which the students came. Results will be reported later.

SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT AND OCCUPATION*

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Points of interest. What is the vocational future of "good" and "poor" high school students? Scholarship more closely related to student's future occupation than to father's occupation. The scholastic superiority of girls over boys. [Ed.]

I *Problem and Method.* Any study of vocations in American society must necessarily proceed from the demonstrable fact that something approaching an occupational hierarchy exists, that specialized occupations carry with them varying degrees of social and economic status, and that their assignment to positions on the occupational scale reflects in a general way the prestige, or lack of it, which society attaches to the different tasks performed. Because this conception of the occupational pyramid represents essentially a set of social values which not only undergoes changes but which also varies from group to group, no very precise delineation of it can be achieved. Yet it is a social phenomenon of much importance, for the value-judgments placed on occupations do influence the lives and activities of every person in our culture. As a corollary to this stereotype of the occupational pyramid is the fairly common belief that intelligence is in some way related to occupation, that those occupations which are accorded relatively high prestige tend to attract intellectually superior persons, and that the low-prestige and low-income tasks represent the vocational channels into which individuals of lesser ability are inclined to drift.

This popular notion of the relationship between ability and occupational status has received considerable confirmation from numerous scientific studies. Yet the methodology employed in these investigations may be seriously open to doubt because usually they have dealt not with the individuals in given occupations but rather with their children. What they have shown, for the most part, is that children whose fathers are identified with the high-prestige and high-income occupations have on the average a higher measured intelligence than children whose fathers are lower down the occupational scale. It is known, of course, that the measured intelligence of soldiers in the first World War showed gradations of ability from the professions to unskilled labor, but in this instance the individuals were adults who had already been conditioned by their own occupational experiences.

In the present report the writers have sought to avoid some of the imperfections of methodology characteristic of most of the earlier studies by ascertaining what relationship exists between the abilities of the individual as measured during adolescence and the occupation which he

* Presented to the American Sociological Society at New York City, December 29, 1941. This is part of a larger study supported by grants-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council and the Research Committee of the University of Missouri.

himself later enters. As a measure of ability scholastic grades earned in high school were employed. Such criteria admittedly lack the preciseness of standardized intelligence tests, but they have the merit at least of being the standards by which individuals *are* judged in practical affairs and are certainly widely accepted as labels of intellectual quality. There is no assumption, however, that scholastic grades necessarily represent a measure of innate capacity; all that can be said is that they represent an appraisal of the person's intellectual performance in a highly institutionalized situation. Manifestly there are numerous factors, both social and biological, which influence the individual's mental development and the quality of his scholastic work.

The study included a sample of 5,464 former students who were attending high school in Missouri between 1920 and 1930, most of them between 1923 and 1927. Ninety-seven communities scattered widely over the state were represented in the group, all of them having less than 2,500 population. Several types of data were secured, but for the purposes of this report it may be mentioned that information was gathered on the scholastic achievements and later occupational choices of individual students, and on the occupations of the fathers of the group. Since at least eight years had elapsed between the time the individual was in school and the date of the study, it was evident that all of the former students had had sufficient time to choose a vocation.

The data were gathered by three research assistants who visited communities located in central Missouri, and by school executives located in towns in more remote parts of the state. Use was made of a simple schedule upon which was recorded all the relevant information, scholastic grades being transcribed directly from the official records of the schools. Materials concerning occupations were obtained through interviews with parents, relatives, former teachers, and other persons in the community who were qualified to provide the information. Where there was any doubt concerning the accuracy of the data the information was checked from more than one source or discarded altogether.

In order to reduce scholastic grades of all students to a comparable basis the marks actually recorded on the record were translated into an index number representing a measure of the relative differences in achievement. In Missouri high schools five marks of proficiency in studies are given: E, excellent; S, superior; M, medium; I, inferior; and F, failure. Only marks for purely academic studies were included, grades in music, manual training, home economics and other non-academic subjects being ignored. The grades for each student were averaged by assigning numerical weights of 4 for an E, 3 for S, 2 for M, 1 for I, and 0 for F. To allow for the possibility that grading standards might differ for different schools, the average grade for each student was related to the average made by all students in that school by dividing it by the school average. For example, a student with a rating of 2.00, indicating an M average, in a school where the school average was 2.00, would have a *Scholastic Index* of $2.00/2.00$ times 100, or 100. Students ranking higher than the school average would have index numbers greater than 100, while those ranking lower would have indices less than 100.

In gathering the data for the study the field workers were instructed to secure information relating to the *specific* occupation which the individual had later entered. Since these occupations covered such a wide range of activities that the number in each vocation was usually too small to permit of statistical analysis, they were classified into groups. Although it is recognized that any occupational

classification having a small number of categories must lump vocations which differ in numerous ways, an attempt was nevertheless made to include within each category those pursuits which tended to share somewhat the same characteristics: such as the nature of the work, amount of training or skill involved, status afforded by the vocation, and the income customarily received. Wherever specific tasks could not be logically assigned to any category the individuals representing these occupations were not included in the analysis.

The occupational scheme employed in the study follows:

1. *Teachers*. (Sufficiently numerous to permit of separate statistical treatment.)
2. *Other professional*. (Physicians, lawyers, social workers, ministers, journalists, public service officials, army and navy officers, engineers, nurses, accountants, students in institutions of higher learning, pharmacists, architects, etc.)
3. *Clerical*. (Stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, secretaries, bank clerks, post office clerks and carriers, etc.)
4. *Salesmen, proprietors, and managers*. (Retail and wholesale clerks, traveling salesmen, ticket sellers, filling station attendants, auctioneers, peddlers, proprietors and managers of commercial enterprises, etc.)
5. *Skilled workmen and foremen*. (Carpenters, painters, printers, plumbers, mechanics, telegraphers, beauty parlor operators, telephone operators, bricklayers, electricians, road overseers, foremen of construction gangs, etc.)
6. *Semiskilled and unskilled workers*. (Farm laborers, common laborers, waiters, bell hops, house maids, practical nurses, truck drivers, etc.)
7. *Farmers*. (Excluding farm laborers.)
8. *Housewives*. (All married women not gainfully employed. In a sense this category cuts across all occupational divisions and does not represent a vocational choice as such.)
9. *Housekeepers*. (Women not gainfully employed and living at home with friends or relatives; some of them perhaps being former gainful workers now unemployed.)

II. *Sex Differences in Scholastic Achievement*. Before any attempt is made to interpret the relation between scholastic achievement and occupation it is important to note the difference in scholarship between males and females, since the factor of sex, as will presently be shown, has an important bearing on the analysis. Of the 5,461 persons in the entire sample for whom data on sex were available, 2,422 or 44 percent were males and 3,039 or 56 percent were females. A comparison of the academic ratings shows the females to be distinctly superior to the males. The mean scholastic index for women was 106.08 as compared with 93.98 for men. The ratio of the observed difference of 12.1 to its standard error was 17.81, thus indicating that the chances are infinitesimal that the difference was due to chance. The modal index for females falls in the class interval 100-114, while for males it falls in the interval 85-99. In Table 1 all class intervals are combined into three categories: "inferior," including those with ratings of less than 85; "average," representing indices from 85 to 114; and "superior," those with ratings of 115 and over.

It will be observed that while slightly less than one-fifth of the women are in the inferior group over two-fifths of the men are so classified. For the superior group the percentages are almost exactly reversed, more than one-third of the women being superior as compared with less than one-fifth of the

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TABLE 1. 5461 FORMER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Scholastic Index	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	5461*	100.00	2422	100.00	3039	100.00
Less than 85	1515	27.74	931	38.43	584	19.21
85-114	2418	44.27	1025	42.32	1393	45.83
114 and over	1528	27.98	466	19.24	1062	34.95

* Does not include three persons whose sex was not reported.

men. With this sex distinction in mind we may turn to the central problem of this paper, namely, the relation between scholastic achievement and certain aspects of occupations.

III. *Occupational Choice and Scholastic Index.* In Table 2 is presented the mean scholastic index for each of the occupational groups into which the

TABLE 2. MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDEX OF 4917 FORMER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupation	Number	Mean	S.D.	P.E. of Mean
Total	4917*	101.07	25.60	± .246
Teachers	560	113.95	22.83	± .650
Total professional	895	110.93	24.48	± .551
Clerical	336	108.43	25.74	± .947
Other professional	335	105.9	26.25	± .967
Salespeople	636	93.77	24.47	± .970
Skilled workmen	300	89.40	23.67	± .921
Semi-skilled and unskilled	395	89.76	22.80	± .773
Farmers	449	89.66	23.99	± .763
Housewives	1785	105.04	24.39	± .389
Housekeepers	121	95.59	23.76	± 1.457

* Does not include 547 former students for whom data on occupation were not reported, or who could not be classified occupationally.

TABLE 2A. RATIO OF OBSERVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS OF SCHOLARSHIP INDICES TO THE STANDARD ERRORS OF THE DIFFERENCE FOR 4917 FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION*

	Other Prof.	Teachers	Clerical	Sales people	Skil. Work-ers	Unsk. Work-ers	Farm-ers	House-wives	House-keepers
Total	3.26	12.49	5.08	7.04	8.25	9.39	9.59	5.82	2.50
Total prof.	13.05	2.39	1.54	13.52	13.52	15.02	15.23	5.88	6.63
Other prof.		4.66	1.26	7.00	8.33	8.78	8.89	.55	3.97
Teachers			3.24	14.75	14.68	16.14	16.33	7.92	7.76
Clerical				8.59	9.71	10.30	10.41	2.23	4.98
Salespeople					2.61	2.67	2.76	9.98	.77
Skilled workmen						.20	.15	10.55	2.42
Semi-skilled and unskilled							.07	11.90	2.38
Farmers								12.10	2.43
Housewives									4.22

* Ratios of 2 or above are considered significant.

subjects had been classified, based on the occupations they were following at the time of interview.

It will be noted first that the sample shows a fairly even distribution between the eight classifications adopted. With the exception of the category "housewife," no group includes an overwhelming preponderance of cases. The large number of housewives is, of course, to be expected, since more than half the total sample were females, and the entire group was of marriageable age.

The data presented reveal fairly well-marked differences in average scholastic achievement as between different occupations, with a distinct tendency for persons with superior scholarship records to gravitate toward the professional occupations. While the mean for the entire sample was 101.07, the mean for teachers was 113.9, for the professional group it was 105.9, and for the total professional (teachers and other professionals combined) it was 110.9. The observed difference between the means for teachers and for the entire group was 12.9, which was 12.5 times the standard error of the difference between the means. Ranking with the professional groups, lower than teachers but higher than other professionals, were the clerical workers. The means for all three of the latter groups were superior by a statistically significant difference to the mean for the entire group. While the differences between the clericals and the "other professional" group was not statistically significant, the teachers exceeded the means for all other groups by magnitudes of definite statistical significance.

Below the average of the entire group were all the other occupations, farmers, skilled workmen, and unskilled labor being at the bottom of the scale with mean scores of 89.6, 89.4, and 89.7, respectively. Considerably higher than these last three occupations, but still below the average for the entire group, were business people, including salesmen, managers, and owners of business enterprises, with a mean score of 93.7.

Differences between the occupational groupings can further be exhibited by classifying those of each occupation into inferior, average, and superior categories according to their scholastic achievements, as in Table 3. For

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF 4917 PERSONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND LOW, AVERAGE OR HIGH SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Occupational Class	Number	Inferior (Below 85)	Average (85-114)	Superior (115 and Over)	Rank in Superior Category
Total	4917	27.15	44.25	28.60	
Teachers	560	10.54	41.43	48.03	1
Clerical	336	18.16	42.26	39.58	2
Other Professional	335	23.28	40.60	36.12	3
Housewives	1785	19.55	47.56	32.89	4
Housekeepers	121	38.84	38.84	22.32	5
Salespeople, etc.	636	36.63	44.97	18.40	6
Farmers	449	45.66	40.31	14.03	7
Skilled Labor	300	45.67	41.33	13.00	8
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	395	42.02	45.32	12.66	9

the entire group, 27 percent were in the inferior class, 44 percent were average, and 28 percent were superior. In contrast to these proportions were the teachers, of whom only one-tenth were in the inferior category while

almost one-half were superior; at the other end of the scale we find almost one-half of the farmers and the two labor groups falling in the scholastically inferior category, while less than 15 percent of each of these three occupational classes were in the superior bracket.

Table 4 shows the mean Scholastic Index for each occupational group classified by sex.

TABLE 4. MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDICES FOR 4917 MALES AND FEMALES
CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION

Occupational	Male				Female			
	No.	Mean	S.D.	P.E.	No.	Mean	S.D.	P.E.
Total	2142	94.17	25.32	± .37	2773	106.40	24.54	± .31
Teachers	214	109.74	24.29	± 1.12	345	116.54	21.50	± .78
Other professional	241	104.14	27.40	± 1.19	94	110.37	22.45	± 1.56
Clerical Workers	144	102.08	25.47	± 1.43	192	113.20	24.90	± 1.21
Salespeople, etc.	539	91.99	24.19	± .70	97	102.63	23.72	± 1.62
Skilled workers	243	86.27	24.19	± .70	57	102.76	23.72	± 1.62
Semiskilled and unskilled	315	88.79	23.31	± .89	79	93.64	20.36	± 1.55
Farmers	446	89.47	23.92	± .76	3*	117.50	18.71	± 7.29
Housewives					1785	105.05	24.40	± .39
Housekeepers					121	95.60	23.77	± 1.46

* To be omitted in subsequent tables because of smallness of number.

As pointed out earlier in the paper, the mean Scholastic Index for females was considerably higher than for males. This difference is consistent for each of the occupational groups, females scoring higher in each category than the males. With one exception the same occupational ranking appears for both sexes. Among females, clerical workers ranked a little higher than did the "other" professional group. The difference, however, is probably not significant as indicated by the very low ratio of the observed difference to the standard error. The same observation can be made about the comparison of these two groups for the males. For both sexes the evidence seems to indicate that there is a distinct tendency for persons who made superior grades in high school to gravitate toward teaching, the "other" professions, and clerical work, while those with lower records are more likely to find their occupations as skilled workers, common laborers, farmers, and housekeepers.

Differences between occupational groups for each sex are shown in Table 5.¹ For both sexes, teachers, other professional workers and clerical workers

¹ These relative positions of each occupational group are stated in terms of a ratio, which in each instance is obtained by dividing the mean index of a given sex-vocational class by the mean index of the total sample of that sex. Thus a ratio of 110.59 for males in the "other" professional class indicates that this occupational group exceeds by more than 10 percent the mean of the whole sample of males. On the basis of the ratios the various groups are ranked, the top ranking indicating the category with the highest scholastic average. This ratio is not to be confused with the ratio employed for testing the reliability of the differences between means.

TABLE 5. RATIO OF THE MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDEX FOR EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, CLASSIFIED BY SEX, TO THE MEAN FOR THE ENTIRE SEX GROUP

Occupation	Male N=2142			Female N=2773		
	Mean	Ratio	Rank	Mean	Ratio	Rank
Total	94.7	100.00		106.40	100.00	
Teachers	109.74	116.53	1	116.54	109.50	1
Other professional	104.14	110.50	2	110.37	103.73	2
Clerical	102.08	108.39	3	113.20	106.39	3
Salespeople, etc.	91.99	97.68	4	102.63	96.45	6
Farmers	89.47	95.00	5			
Unskilled and semiskilled	88.79	94.28	6	93.64	88.00	8
Skilled workers	86.27	91.61	7	102.76	96.57	5
Housewives				105.04	98.70	4
Housekeepers				95.60	89.84	7

are definitely superior to the mean for their respective sex groups. The rank order for these three categories is not quite the same for the two sex groups. Teachers stand at the top of the scale for both sexes, but among the males "other" professionals have a higher average score than clericals, while among females clericals are appreciably superior to the "other" professionals. It may also be important to note that the deviations above the mean in the professional and clerical groups are considerably greater for males than for females. On the other hand, deviations below the mean for two occupations, unskilled and semiskilled workers and housekeepers, in the female group are greater than for any occupation among the males. One other difference which appears clearly in this table is the relatively low score for skilled workmen and foremen in the male series. Among females the average score of skilled workers is relatively much higher, ranking above both the housekeeper and the unskilled categories. The explanation of these differences is not clear, but is probably due to the way in which the specific occupations were classified. Skilled occupations among women may have a tendency to select individuals of higher scholastic achievement than the skilled vocations among men. At any rate, it seems probable that occupational selection operates rather differently for males than for females.

Rather interesting is the relatively high average score for the 1785 housewives in the sample. This group seems to be a rather representative cross section of the entire female sample, with an average score only 1.45 less than the average for all females. Semiskilled and unskilled workers and housekeepers are relatively low compared with the average of women. The former group includes mainly domestics, while the latter comprises largely unmarried women living at home with parents and other relatives. There seems to be some evidence here of marital selection, for females with low Scholastic Index ratings apparently tend to choose positions as domestics or housekeepers, while superior individuals tend to go into teaching or clerical work, occupations attracting mainly single women. In general, the evidence

seems to point to the conclusion that the more stupid or less studious, and also the brighter or more studious, girls are less likely to marry, or else to marry later than their more mediocre sisters.

IV. *Parental Occupation and Scholastic Achievement.* Earlier in this paper it was remarked that studies of ability in relation to parental occupation have certain limitations in significance. Yet it may be of value to offer a comparison of the results obtained by this method with those which have just been discussed, since the same sample of former students can be used for both purposes. In Table 6 this comparison is made. The average scholastic indices of the individuals classified according to occupation of choice is set alongside the mean indices of the group classified by vocation of the father. These differences and similarities are brought out still further when the data are expressed in terms of ratios, and the various occupational classes ranked according to the degree of average scholastic achievement.

TABLE 6. MEAN SCHOLASTIC INDICES OF FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONALLY BY OWN VOCATION AND VOCATIONAL CLASS OF FATHER, TOGETHER WITH RATIOS AND RANKING OF EACH GROUP

Occupational Class	N=4917 Individual's Occupation			N=4757 Father's Occupation		
	Mean	Ratio	Rank	Mean	Ratio	Rank
Total group	101.07	100.00		100.86	100.00	
Teachers	113.95	112.74	1	106.98	106.07	2
Clerical	108.44	107.29	2	104.02	103.13	4
Other professional	105.90	104.78	3	107.43	106.51	1
Salespeople, etc.	93.77	92.78	4	104.38	103.49	3
Semiskilled and unskilled workers	89.77	88.82	5	97.61	96.78	5
Farmers	89.66	88.71	6	100.28	99.42	6
Skilled workers	89.40	88.45	7	97.05	96.22	7

It is apparent from these data that certain similarities exist, though the mean scholastic indices for the two classifications are by no means uniform. In both instances the mean index for teachers, other professionals, and clerical workers is well above the average, while two groups, skilled workers and semiskilled and unskilled workmen, fall below the average. But whereas the mean index for the group entering the business field is definitely inferior, the individuals whose fathers are in business have a mean index significantly higher than the average of the entire group. At the same time, children of farmers rank close to the average of the entire sample, while those individuals who themselves entered farming have a mean index much below the general average.

On the basis of the criterion of intelligence employed for this sample, then, it would appear that individuals entering business or farming have a comparatively low average ability, whereas those individuals whose fathers are in these vocations achieve a higher degree of scholastic success. Further-

more, though the mean S. I. for individuals whose parents are in manual trades (skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled work) is comparatively low, it is significantly higher than the mean S. I. for those actually entering those vocations. Another point of difference which may be noted is that the group classified according to occupational choice shows more extremes of high and low ability than when classified on the basis of parental occupation. Thus the high and low means for the first classification are 113.95 for teachers and 89.40 for skilled workmen, whereas the highest and lowest means for the second classification are 107.43 for other professionals and 97.05 for skilled workmen.

V. *Conclusions.* If the data in this paper tend to support popular views concerning occupational selection, as well as to lend partial confirmation to certain scientific studies, extreme caution must nevertheless be exercised in determining what theoretical and practical significance they may have. Uncritical observers might easily seize upon these materials as evidence that females are more richly endowed by nature than males, that certain occupations attract only the genetically superior, or that parents in the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy tend to produce only gifted children. Such an interpretation would naturally lead to the conclusion that the existing hierarchical arrangement of occupations prevails because the cream of the human family has risen to the top, that the skimmed-milk portion of the population is incapable not only of scaling the occupational heights but also of participating intelligently in the processes of a democratic society. It is our opinion that any such appraisal of the data is hardly warranted by the evidence. In the following paragraphs we shall offer a few tentative suggestions relative to the meaning which the foregoing factual materials may have.

1. The significant differences between the scholastic achievements of males and females in high school may be the result not of differences in capacity but rather of a number of social and psychological factors operating in the school situation. At least numerous intelligence tests given to boys and girls do not indicate any reliable differences in ability to master the tasks assigned by teachers. But boys are probably under heavier pressure than girls to achieve distinction in non-academic activities; consequently their energies and interests are perhaps more likely to be channelized in directions which provide prestige though not scholastic honors. In the final analysis it is probably more a matter of attitudes toward school work than it is ability.

2. The data show fairly conclusively that those individuals who do well in school work tend to enter in disproportionate numbers those occupations which make considerable demands on the intellect, whereas those who do poorly in school are more inclined to go into vocations for which "brawn" is perhaps more important than "brains." But the scholastically superior in-

dividuals may or may not be richly endowed with native capacity; the same is true of individuals on the lower levels of scholarship. While genetic qualities could certainly be considered an important factor in scholastic achievement, there are many other factors such as the richness or drabness of the individual's home environment, his physical and emotional condition, extra-curricular or other demands on his time, the values of the community, and his own attitudes and interests. Furthermore, the same social and psychic factors which may be said to influence the scholastic attainments of the individual may also operate to influence his selection of an occupation; both scholarship and occupational choice may be regarded as end-products of all these interrelated factors. It may also be observed that individuals not only choose their occupations; in a real sense their occupations choose them, for frequently their scholastic records are considered when the selection is being made.

3. If it could be shown that all, or nearly all, mentally superior young people tend to gravitate toward certain types of occupations, while all the mediocre or inferior individuals go into other vocational fields, then the problem would be simplified and the relationship between ability and vocational opportunity would be clarified. But the data presented in this paper show no such a clear-cut cleavage. Even though the average scholastic index of the teachers and other professional persons, for example, is significantly higher than the mean for farmers or the manual-trades group, certainly not all the professionals are superior, nor are all of the farmers and workers inferior. Indeed one-seventh of the farmers and one-eighth of the semiskilled workers were superior students in high school, whereas one-tenth of the teachers and one-fourth of the other professionals had an inferior scholastic ranking. Furthermore, the proportion of "average" persons in the professional and clerical fields was about the same as for the farm and laboring groups—amounting to around 40 percent of the total. Even though it can be demonstrated that certain occupations are more highly selective of the scholastically superior than others, there still remain sizeable reservoirs of intellectual capacity in the less-favored vocations.²

4. If we could assume that superior individuals who have entered the high-status occupations were persons of relatively high native capacity it would still be a matter of doubt whether they necessarily passed on to their offspring the superior abilities which they themselves possessed. We know, of course, that children of parents in the professions tend to rank higher in intelligence and in scholastic performance than children whose fathers are laboring men. This may perhaps be explained in part by the quality of genes transmitted from parents to children; yet it is undoubtedly true that chil-

² This observation is also made by Croft in his study of the measured intelligence of children whose parents were on relief. See his article, "The Ability of Relief Children," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1940.

dren whose fathers are in the socially-favored occupations usually have not only greater incentive to achieve intellectual distinction than children from the low occupational ranks but also more opportunities to follow in the vocational footsteps of their parents. Certainly the scion of a college professor is more likely to have a better chance to enter the professions than the son of a bootblack or a barber.

Standardized measures of intelligence indicate that public school teachers, on the average, are not outstanding in ability,³ though on the basis of scholastic performance they rank at the top of the occupational categories in the present study. The suggested explanation of this apparent discrepancy is that students who work hard at their studies, show an interest in academic matters, and make good grades are the ones most likely to choose a vocation in which they can continue this sort of interest; or, to reverse the situation, the teaching profession tends to be selective of individuals who have done well in school, regardless of their native abilities. This appears to be especially true in the case of women, for whom vocational opportunities are more limited than for men. Before any definite judgments can be made of the transmissibility of intellectual capacity we must know more than we now do about the hereditary character of intelligence and how to measure it.

5. If *all* the children whose parents were in the high-status occupation were superior, whereas *all* whose fathers were in low-status jobs had inferior scholastic records, then the social implications of these scholastic differentials would be fairly clear. The facts are, however, that a sizeable percentage of children having fathers on the higher levels had inferior scholastic records, while many children reared in humble homes and representing the low-income occupations were outstanding in achievement. Furthermore, a very considerable proportion of the children of the elite as well as the offspring of the working classes were about average in academic achievement. Obviously the differences between the accomplishments of children representing the different occupational strata were relative rather than absolute. This fact seems to be overlooked by certain individuals for whom a differential birth rate spells depletion of the quality of our national stock.

6. It is apparent from these data that the different vocational classes are more nearly alike in scholastic performance when computations are made on the basis of parental occupation than on occupation of the individual's own choice. When classified by father's occupation the professional groups, for example, were not as far above the general average as when classed by own occupation; similarly, the working groups, classified by parental occupation, were not as far below the total average as the same persons classed by vocation of their own choice. One is hardly justified in assuming from

³ See Clark and Gist, "Occupational Choice and Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1938.

this evidence, however, that the relative abilities of the upper and lower occupational groupings are widening with each succeeding generation. Indeed, we do not even know for sure if there are any differences between the genetic qualities of children from the low-income occupations and the offspring of professional and business parents. In this connection it is interesting to note that the children of farmers fairly closely approximated the mean for the entire group, whereas those entering the vocation of farming were considerably below the average. This may be due in part to the number of farm children, since approximately 63 percent of the entire sample were living on farms when they were in school.

7. The foregoing conclusions, rather conservative in tone, are not intended to leave the impression that occupational differentials in scholastic achievement have no social significance, but rather to emphasize the complicated character of the selective process and the folly of making snap judgments. Within the limits of our sample, however, there is some fairly convincing evidence that occupational differentiation involves a certain differentiation of ability. If, therefore, we assume that the more competent, the better-educated, and the academically superior elements of our society are better equipped to participate intelligently in the processes of democratic life than the stupid, the poorly-educated, and the scholastically inferior, then it would appear that the representatives of those occupations tending to select the intellectually superior might be expected to produce not only a disproportionate number of enlightened leaders but also the most enlightened followers. This proposition is, of course, based on the related assumption that some connection exists between (1) the ability of the individual to think critically on matters of social importance, (2) the amount of formal education, and (3) the quality of scholastic work done by the student. If these assumptions have no validity, then we had better disband our expensive and time-consuming educational system, modify our ideologies, and place our faith in a *fuehrer*. But if, as in our opinion, the assumptions are valid, the social implications of the relation between occupation and ability should not be ignored. The practical application of such data and generalizations as this and other studies afford may have to be decided by our educators, who are responsible in large part for the vocational training of future workers and for the development of citizens in a democracy.

UNIVERSITY STUDENT INTELLIGENCE AND OCCUPATION OF FATHER*

MAPHEUS SMITH
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Points of interest. Do students from families of low occupational status represent a better-than-average selection from their group? Representation of different occupational levels in the university population; intelligence test norms for each level. [Ed.]

THE EVIDENCE on the relationship between level of performance on intelligence tests and occupational affiliation has generally revealed a close positive correlation.¹ A variety of different studies have been made, including those of intelligence of children by occupation of parent. These embrace studies of nursery school children, elementary school children, high school pupils and students at college or university level. Several of the investigations were of the intelligence of people classified according to occupation held before entering military service. One reported the high school intelligence of people later found in certain occupational classes.

However, in view of the fact that only two investigations have been reported on intelligence of college students classified by father's occupation,² and those were small and made a number of years ago, it is worth while to examine this question still further. Another objective of the present study was to obtain a more detailed occupational classification than has frequently been employed; this was made possible by the size of the sample.

Records of undergraduate students first entering the University of Kansas during the period September 1934-June 1938³ were analyzed. The total of 5,487 cases represents those whose report of father's occupation was readily classified. A few students reported no parental occupation, some of the fathers were only reported as deceased and records of a small number were too general to be meaningful (for example, "railroad employee," "oil worker," "business man.") The intelligence records eliminated in these ways totalled between 100 and 200. The intelligence tests employed were those approved by the American Council on Education. Percentile scores were used for analysis so as to make the records of the different tests used in the different years more comparable than raw scores on varying tests would

* This report has been editorially condensed and the statistical tables simplified. More complete data are in the hands of the author. [Ed.]

¹ Cf. P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin (Editors), *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Volume III, Minneapolis, 1932, pp. 274-277, 287-288 for a summary of fifteen studies, and Lorimer, Frank, and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, New York, 1934, Chapter VIII for other studies. Also see C. D. Clark, and N. P. Gist, "Intelligence as a Factor in Occupational Choice," *American Sociological Review*, 1938, 3, 683-694 a report on occupational choice related to intelligence.

² Peter Sandiford, "Paternal Occupation and Intelligence of Offspring," *School and Society*, 1926, 23, 117-119; and R. M. Bear, "Factors in the Achievement of College Freshmen," *School and Society*, 1926, 24, 802-804. Sandiford studied 508 first year university, 568 Normal School and 45 graduate students; and Bear studied 95 college freshmen.

³ Summer school students are classified with the students of the previous regular session.

be. The necessary adjustments between the men's and women's percentile scores, which were slightly different, were made.

The information on occupational class of father was taken from the report of the student without further check concerning the precise nature of the work performed. The final classification of the occupations was made to conform closely to broad categories ordinarily employed in studies of occupation related to intelligence. But a number of component occupations were also differentiated in some of the main classes. As a general rule analysis was confined to sub-classes of occupations in which at least 100 subjects were found, although less than this number of subjects reported the main categories of "semi-skilled" and "unskilled" workers. Where possible the United States Census occupational classifications were used as the basis for grouping subjects, but where this was not possible, as for "skilled," "semi-skilled" and "unskilled" workers, groupings were made on the basis of the general amount of skill required for the work and the general length of preliminary training required for such employment.

The names and characteristics of the occupational categories used are as follows:

1. Professional Workers.
 - a. Clergymen. Includes missionaries.
 - b. Doctors. Includes dentists, surgeons, optometrists.
 - c. Educators. Includes college presidents, deans, professors, superintendents and principals and school teachers of all sorts.
 - d. Engineers.
 - e. Lawyers. Includes judges and justices.
 - f. Other Professional Workers. Includes actors, architects, draftsmen, artists, designers, photographers, authors, chemists and metallurgists, musicians, trained nurses, veterinary surgeons, librarians, abstractors, officials of societies, "efficiency experts," weather forecasters, geologists, and interior decorators.
2. Clerical Workers.
 - a. Clerks. Includes shipping clerks, postal clerks.
 - b. Clerical Agents. Includes railroad ticket and baggage agents, express agents, telegraph agents, railway mail clerks.
 - c. Other Clerical Workers. Includes bookkeepers, cashiers, accountants, auditors, claim adjustors, appraisers, secretaries, collectors, mail and newspaper carriers.
3. Salespeople.
 - a. Sales Agents. Includes real estate and insurance agents.
 - b. Salesmen. Includes salesmen in stores, auctioneers and solicitors.
4. Public Service. Includes army officers, postmasters, policemen, firemen, sheriffs, county clerks, federal officials, state and county commissioners.
5. Proprietorial Workers.
 - a. Bankers. Includes financiers, building and loan officials, stock and grain brokers.
 - b. Contractors. Includes oil contractors, building contractors, paving contractors.
 - c. Manufacturing Proprietors. Includes managers and officials in both manufacturing and transportation, lumbermen, publishers, journalists, oil company officials.
 - d. Dealers. Includes wholesale and retail dealers.
6. Skilled Workers. Includes bakers, blacksmiths, carpenters and cabinet makers, butchers, electricians, mechanics, machinists, shoemakers, painters, plasterers, paperhangers, printers, plumbers.

7. Foremen. Includes inspectors and supervisors.
8. Semi-skilled workers. Includes miners, factory operatives, chauffeurs, bus drivers, truck drivers, brakemen and switchmen on railroads, filling station attendants.
9. Farmers. Includes cattlemen, dairy farmers, fruit growers, farm managers.
10. Domestic and Personal Service Workers. Includes barbers, laundry workers, janitors, porters, cooks, waiters.
11. Unskilled workers. Includes farm laborers and farm foremen.

When the intelligence records of the 5,487 students were classified according to these occupational categories, and the resulting occupational totals were distributed according to range of percentile scores, the distributions presented in Table I resulted. A large amount of variation between vocations is revealed. Of the eleven broad occupational classes the modal percentile range was 91-99 only for professional workers and salespeople. For skilled workers the mode was the 81-90 range, for proprietors the 71-80 range, for public service workers, foremen and domestic and personal service workers 61-70, for clerical workers 51-60, for farmers 11-20; and for the semi-skilled and unskilled the mode was the lowest range: 1-10.

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE TEST PERCENTILE SCORES OF 5,487 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF FATHER

Percentile Class Intervals	PROFESSIONAL		Educators		Clergymen		Engineers		Lawyers		Doctors	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
91-99	149	14.86	35	21.74	21	16.41	24	13.56	28	15.73	33	11.79
81-90	128	12.76	32	19.87	17	13.28	23	13.00	25	14.04	20	7.14
71-80	139	13.86	18	11.18	17	13.28	28	15.82	17	9.55	44	15.71
61-70	106	10.57	8	4.97	15	11.72	21	11.86	20	11.24	35	12.50
51-60	106	10.57	18	11.18	18	14.06	21	11.86	14	7.87	29	10.36
41-50	86	8.57	10	6.21	10	7.81	16	9.04	23	12.92	19	6.79
31-40	95	9.47	15	9.32	9	7.03	14	7.91	19	10.67	28	10.00
21-30	71	7.08	8	4.97	6	4.60	12	6.78	12	6.74	24	8.57
11-20	73	7.28	9	5.59	11	8.59	8	4.52	14	7.87	28	10.00
1-10	50	4.98	8	4.97	4	3.13	10	5.65	6	3.37	20	7.14
Total	1,003	100.00	161	100.00	128	100.00	177	100.00	178	100.00	280	100.00

Percentile Class Intervals	Other Professional		CLERICAL		Clerks		Clerical Agents		Other Clerical	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
91-99	8	10.13	68	14.47	23	15.54	11	8.94	34	17.09
81-90	11	13.92	45	9.57	15	10.13	11	8.94	19	9.55
71-80	15	18.90	57	12.13	22	14.87	13	10.57	22	11.05
61-70	7	8.86	40	9.79	14	9.46	15	12.19	17	8.54
51-60	6	7.59	71	15.10	17	11.49	20	16.26	34	17.09
41-50	8	10.13	42	8.94	14	9.46	9	7.32	19	9.55
31-40	10	12.66	40	8.51	11	7.43	12	9.76	17	8.54
21-30	9	11.39	29	6.17	6	4.05	10	8.13	13	6.53
11-20	3	3.80	39	8.30	12	8.11	16	13.01	11	5.53
1-10	2	2.53	33	7.02	14	9.46	6	4.88	13	6.53
Total	79	100.00	470	100.00	148	100.00	123	100.00	199	100.00

Percentile Class Intervals	SALESPeOPLE		Sales Agents		Salesmen		PROPRIETORS		Manufacturing Proprietors	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
91-99	60	12.71	28	15.82	32	10.85	154	9.96	70	12.35
81-90	55	11.65	19	10.73	36	12.20	163	10.54	70	12.35
71-80	54	11.44	15	8.47	39	13.22	196	12.68	76	13.40
61-70	58	12.20	18	10.17	40	13.56	178	11.51	62	10.93
51-60	46	9.75	22	12.43	24	8.14	168	10.87	61	10.76
41-50	46	9.75	26	14.60	20	6.78	141	9.12	46	8.11
31-40	43	9.11	11	6.22	32	10.85	140	9.06	59	10.41
21-30	43	9.11	15	8.47	28	9.49	152	9.83	54	9.52
11-20	41	8.68	14	7.91	27	9.15	146	9.44	38	6.70
1-10	26	5.51	9	5.09	17	5.76	108	6.99	31	5.47
Total	472	100.00	177	100.00	295	100.00	1,546	100.00	567	100.00

STUDENT INTELLIGENCE, OCCUPATION OF FATHER 767

TABLE I—Continued

Percentile Class Intervals	Dealers		Bankers		Contractors		PUBLIC SERVICE		SKILLED	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
91-99	65	9.43	10	5.92	9	7.44	27	16.56	34	6.97
81-90	65	9.43	17	10.06	11	9.09	15	9.20	60	12.29
71-80	84	12.19	20	11.84	16	13.22	14	8.59	53	10.86
61-70	88	12.77	18	10.65	10	8.26	28	17.18	52	10.66
51-60	74	10.74	18	10.65	15	12.40	9	5.52	55	11.27
41-50	63	8.86	27	15.98	7	5.79	10	6.14	56	11.47
31-40	50	8.13	14	8.28	11	9.09	20	12.27	48	9.84
21-30	65	9.43	19	11.24	14	11.57	15	9.20	48	9.84
11-20	79	11.47	14	8.28	15	12.40	12	7.36	37	7.58
1-10	52	7.55	12	7.10	13	10.74	13	7.98	45	9.22
Total	689	100.00	169	100.00	121	100.00	163	100.00	488	100.00

Percentile Class Intervals	FOREMEN		SEMI-SKILLED		FARMERS		DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE		UNSKILLED	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
91-99	5	4.72	8	8.79	62	6.65	6	5.04	6	6.19
81-90	13	12.26	9	9.89	90	9.66	8	6.72	4	4.12
71-80	11	10.38	10	10.99	103	11.05	9	7.56	10	10.31
61-70	14	13.21	10	10.99	85	9.12	22	18.49	5	5.15
51-60	13	12.26	7	7.69	86	9.23	17	14.29	9	9.28
41-50	11	10.38	7	7.69	94	10.08	8	6.72	7	7.22
31-40	7	6.60	6	6.59	97	10.41	10	8.40	4	4.12
21-30	12	11.32	9	9.89	89	9.55	13	10.93	9	9.28
11-20	9	8.49	10	10.99	119	12.77	12	10.08	14	14.43
1-10	11	10.38	15	16.49	107	11.48	14	11.77	29	29.90
Total	106	100.00	91	100.00	932	100.00	119	100.00	97	100.00

The sub-classes composing the professional, clerical, salespeople and proprietorial categories also revealed considerable variations. Thus, among the six professional divisions the mode for educators, clergymen and lawyers was the highest percentile range, while the mode for the "other" professional workers was 81-90, and that for doctors and engineers, 71-80. Clerks had a modal range of 91-99 and both the 91-99 and 51-60 ranges were modal for the "other" clerical workers, while clerical agents had a modal range of 51-60. The mode for sales agents was the 91-99 range, but that for salesmen was the 61-70 range. Among the various proprietorial sub-classes the modal ranges were 71-80 for manufacturing proprietors and for contractors; 61-70 for dealers and 41-50 for bankers.

A more satisfactory indication of the rank order of the paternal vocational groups in intellectual status of children is found in Table 2. The occupational main classes are arranged in descending order of magnitude of the mean score, and the sub-classes in the same way within the class.

The differences between the intellectual levels of the highest and lowest vocational groups are large. For the main classes the highest average was 58.746 for professional workers, the lowest 36.706 for unskilled workers. The five highest scores for sub-classes were in the professional class. It is also noteworthy that the unskilled workers were at a level far lower than any other group, more than 10 percentile points below domestic and personal service workers.

Among the more significant findings is the large size of the standard deviation for each occupational class. Regardless of how high or how low the mean percentile scores, some students identified with each occupational class were found in every percentile range. In a number of vocations there

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TABLE 2. MEAN INTELLIGENCE TEST PERCENTILE SCORES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupational Class	Mean Percentile Score
Professional	58.746
Educators	64.031
Clergymen	61.129
Engineers	59.952
Lawyers	58.680
Other Professional	58.544
Doctors	53.513
Clerical	56.215
Other Clerical	58.178
Clerks	56.960
Clerical Agents	52.285
Salespeople	55.775
Sales Agents	56.720
Salesmen	55.280
Public Service	55.478
Proprietors	53.342
Manufacturing Proprietors	56.690
Dealers	52.071
Bankers	50.796
Contractors	48.438
Skilled	51.469
Foremen	50.071
Semi-skilled	47.543
Farmers	47.344
Domestic and Personal Service	47.323
Unskilled	36.706

TABLE 3. CRITICAL RATIOS, IN NEXT LOWEST INTEGRAL NUMBER, OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN PERCENTILE INTELLIGENCE SCORES OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES AND SUB-CLASSES*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1. Professional																									
2. Educators																									
3. Clergymen																									
4. Engineers																									
5. Lawyers																									
6. Other Prof.																									
7. Doctors			3	2	2																				
8. Clerical																									
9. Other Cler.																									
10. Clerks		2																							
11. Cler. Agents		3	2	2	2																				
12. Salespeople																									
13. Sales Agents		2																							
14. Salesmen		3	2																						
15. Publ. Service		2																							
16. Prop. Workers	4																								
17. Manf. Prop.		2																							
18. Dealers		4	3	3	2	2			2								2								
19. Bankers		4	3	3	2	2			2				2	2	2		2								
20. Contractors		4	3	3	2	2			3	2			2	2	2		2								
21. Skilled		4	3	3	3	2			2	2							3								
22. Foremen	4	4	3	2	2	2			2	2			2	2	2	2	2								
23. Semi-Skilled	3	4	3	3	2	2			2	2			3	2	2	2	2	3							
24. Farmers	8	6	5	5	5	3	3	5	5	3			5	4	4	3	5	6	3		2				
25. Dom. & Pers.	4	5	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	2			3	2	2	2	2	3							
26. Unskilled	6	7	6	6	5	5	4	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	6	4	3	2	4	3	2	3	2

* Only critical ratios of 2.00 or more are given. "2" means 2.00-2.99, "3" means 3.00-3.99, etc. Critical ratio is the difference between two values divided by the standard error of the difference. When it is 2.00, the chances are 98 out of 100 that a "true" difference exists, and not one due merely to chance. When the C.R. is 3.00, the chances are 100 out of 100 that a "true" difference exists. The column numbers across the top refer to the same groups as the corresponding numbers indicating rows. Critical ratios were not computed for the differences between the main classes "professional" (row and column 1), "clerical" (8), "salespeople" (12), "proprietary workers" (16) and their subclasses.

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was little tendency for the scores to be grouped closely around the mean. Hence slight mean differences between vocational groups in intelligence may possibly be explained by chance. Table 3, giving critical ratios based on the standard error of the difference between arithmetical means, discloses that many of the differences are not statistically reliable but that a large number of the differences between highest and lowest means clearly are. Thus, children of educators surpass children of doctors, clerical agents, salesmen, dealers, bankers, contractors, skilled workers, foremen, semi-skilled workers, farmers, domestic and personal service workers, and unskilled workers by an amount which is statistically reliable, i.e., by an amount at least three times as large as the standard error of the difference between the mean percentile scores. Table 3 presents similar data for all mutually exclusive occupational groups.

It is apparent that farmers and unskilled workers are outstanding in revealing statistically reliable differences when compared with other occupational categories. The only exceptions to statistical reliability for farmers were in their differences from clerical agents, bankers, and contractors, and skilled, and foremen, and semi-skilled, and domestic and personal service workers. The unskilled workers revealed reliable differences in all comparisons except those between themselves and contractors, and semi-skilled, and domestic and personal service workers. The reason for the distinctive characteristics of farmers is to a considerable extent the fact that this group was large (932) and therefore had a small standard error of its mean. The unskilled group, on the other hand, was very small (97) but had a mean score widely deviant from that of any other group. Because of the small sample of cases in this population it is to be expected that the mean percentile score is not highly reliable, but there is no reason to believe that this occupational class is misrepresented.

The results of this study support those reported in other investigations of the same sort. The order of occupational intelligence levels is similar to that revealed by other investigations and the large amount of overlapping between classes also corroborates other reports. To the extent that this study is typical of the region and the country we may also conclude that the correlation between occupation and intelligence is as strong today as a generation ago. The "white collar" occupational classes (professional workers; clerical workers; public service workers; and proprietors) clearly surpass the others. The children of fathers in occupations requiring more skill and training are superior to the children of those requiring less.

The more fundamental meaning of these results remains obscure, however. In view of the fact that actual workers in the occupations included here generally prove to have intellectual ranks similar⁴ to those of college students classified by father's occupation, the data suggest that the occu-

⁴ Compare scholastic achievement data, in article by Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory in this issue. [Ed.]

pational differences in intelligence tend to be perpetuated. But whether the cause of the continuance is predominantly biological inheritance or such environmental factors as differential early stimulation,⁵ differential education or differential motivation⁶ remains unclear. Evidence of some other sort will be required to reveal the larger significance of the facts presented.

One of the apparent weaknesses of a study of the present sort is the selected character of the college student population. However, since the institution in question is state supported and since the requirements for entrance are the same for all students, regardless of occupational class, the importance of selection may readily be overemphasized. There is no reason to suppose that the more intelligent children of fathers in unskilled, semi-skilled, domestic and personal service, or any other occupations of low social and economic status would fail to attend college while the least intelligent ones would. To be sure, the present data could be explained, if the more intelligent children of the low status groups went to other institutions while only the less intelligent ones of such occupations attended the state university. But this is not as reasonable a conclusion as that the students in the sample from each occupational background are equally representative of all the people in that occupational group.

If there were differences in the intellectual ability of students of fathers in the various vocational groups, the occupational groups having the highest ability would be expected to contribute a larger part of the college population than the occupation constituted of the total population of the area. On the other hand, the occupations having the lowest ability would tend to be underrepresented in the population studied. Table 4 reveals that professional workers in 1940 constituted 5.71 percent of the regional population,⁷ compared with 18.28 percent of the students. Also overrepresented, in order of degree of overrepresentation, were students whose fathers were business proprietors, clerical workers, foremen, and public service workers and salespeople, the latter two being equal at .18 above group average representation. The underrepresented vocations were skilled workers, farmers, domestic and personal service workers, and unskilled workers, with semi-skilled workers being most strikingly below group average representation. It thus appears that not only is the average intellectual status of certain occupational groups below that of others in the college population, but that the lowest groups also are underrepresented in that population. Furthermore, so far as this study is concerned, even when an occupational

⁵ These two factors, which might be the crux of the matter, are not considered in many studies purporting to measure environment, such as the one by Charles W. Nelson in this issue. [Ed.]

⁶ While the large majority of subjects were residents of Kansas, a considerable portion resided in Kansas City, Missouri. Consequently, this city was also included in the study. A part of the sample resided outside of this combined area, but the number was insufficient seriously to reduce the observed differences between the occupational indices of representation.

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STUDENT INTELLIGENCE, OCCUPATION OF FATHER 771

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF KANSAS UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE EMPLOYED WORKERS IN KANSAS AND KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, 1940

Occupational Class	Distribution of Fathers of Students		Distribution of Males in the Labor Force 1940 ¹		Index of Representation $\frac{A}{B}$
	No.	Percent (A)	No.	Percent (B)	
Professional	1,003	18.28	31,673 ²	5.71	3.20
Clerical	470	8.57	36,960 ³	6.67	1.29
Salespeople	472	8.60	40,555 ⁴	7.31	1.18
Public Service	163	2.97	13,912 ⁵	2.51	1.18
Proprietors	1,546	28.18	61,239 ⁶	11.04	2.55
Skilled	488	8.89	63,360 ⁷	11.43	.78
Semi-skilled	91	1.66	74,059 ⁸	13.36	.12
Foremen	106	1.93	8,629 ⁹	1.56	1.24
Farmers	932	16.98	138,440 ¹⁰	24.97	.68
Unskilled	97	1.77	59,845 ¹¹	10.79	.16
Domestic and Personal Service	119	2.17	25,807 ¹²	4.65	.47
Total	5,487	100.00	554,479	100.00	1.00

¹ Data from U.S. Census Series P-11, No. 24 (Missouri), February 26, 1942; and Series P-11, No. 40 (Kansas), March 17, 1942. Includes those employed except on emergency work.

² Professional and semi-professional workers.

³ Clerical and kindred workers.

⁴ Salesmen.

⁵ Protective service workers, postmasters and miscellaneous government officials.

⁶ Proprietors, managers and officials, except farm.

⁷ Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, less foremen and inspectors.

⁸ Operatives and kindred workers.

⁹ Foremen and inspectors.

¹⁰ Farmers, farm managers.

¹¹ Laborers, except mine laborers, plus farm laborers (wage workers) and farm foremen.

¹² Domestic service workers, plus service workers except domestic and protective.

group is underrepresented in a student population, its intellectual level remains distinctly inferior to that of the overrepresented groups.

It is also interesting to note that all "white collar" workers are overrepresented in the student group, but of the other groups only foremen are overrepresented. The data on representation therefore support the common-sense observation of an occupational cleavage in the tendency to send children to college, or perhaps it would be better to say, in interest in college. Further studies should be made to check on the extent to which this cleavage is found in other areas. And we also need to learn whether underrepresentation of certain occupations means that more children of fathers in some occupations lack the intellectual ability for college education than is true of other groups, whether lack of interest in higher education is of outstanding importance, or whether the economic factor or some other is a more adequate interpretation. More important still, it is desirable to proceed with such analyses until the contribution of all factors to occupational representation in college as well as to occupational intelligence of college students are correctly interpreted.

SPECIFICITY* AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION

A. H. HOBBS

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Points of interest. Some detailed observations on a region of declining opportunity. Personal versus economic migration in the anthracite region. Selective effect of migration before, during and after the depression. [Ed.]

AS WE REFLECT upon the changes of residence of friends and acquaintances we recall many persons whose migration from one town to another or from one county or state to another was motivated by circumstances which were peculiar to them as individuals or as a family group. An appreciable amount of labor-turnover, some of which results in migration to another town, is due to personal factors. A mechanic from Camden, N. J., may secure a job in Philadelphia, Pa., through his brother-in-law, while a pharmacist from Philadelphia moves to Camden in order to work in his uncle's drug-store. Many thousands of girls leave their farm or town homes when they marry; husbands die and widowed mothers go to live with their married daughters; girls have children illegitimately and their families move away; husbands desert wives; criminals attempt to escape justice; thousands of persons just drift about, their migrations unrelated to economic or social conditions surrounding them.

The inevitable diversity of these individualistically motivated movements of people challenge the attempts of investigators of internal migration to find a common denominator which will characterize the persons as a group. The assumptions underlying studies of migration are in terms of socio-economic forces which are pushing people out of the source or drawing them to the goal. If these individuals, motivated by unique personal situations which may have little relation to the socio-economic forces, constitute an appreciable percentage of those who leave the migration source, their inclusion in the migrant group obscures differentials which may exist between migrants and non-migrants. Realization of the fact that 25 million people in this country live in states other than those in which they were born, and that in addition many millions have moved about within their native state, tempts one to conclude that mobility is almost the rule rather than the exception in our culture. With mobility such a common phenomenon, it would be indeed remarkable if all, or even a majority of migrants in any given situation, were motivated by factors which are reducible to any common denominator.

* The importance of treating social problems specifically in relation to place, time, and combination of factors is developed in Bossard, J. H. S., "Social Change and Social Problems," Rev. Ed. Harpers, 1938.

Though it is frequently assumed that the primary motivations of migration are economic in character, a study involving 2,745 farm operators who migrated from farms to city, town or village¹ included only 37.8 percent who gave reasons of an economic nature for leaving their farms. Another study, which involved a sample of 4,247 transient families,² all of whom were interstate migrants, included only 69 percent who gave economic distress as the reason for migration. Twenty-five percent of the heads of these families attributed their migration to personal distress (ill health, domestic trouble, etc.) the nature of which makes under-reporting likely. The extent of migration which is motivated primarily by narrow personal factors rather than by broad economic or social forces is further attested by a study³ of a sample of 374 families which had migrated to rural townships in Indiana. Forty percent of these migrants had returned to the home county of either the husband or the wife, and an additional 20 percent had returned to a particular county because relatives lived there.

Similarly, the attempt to categorize migration as rural-urban encounters a formidable obstacle in accounting for the 10,622,000 persons who arrived on farms from cities, towns and villages between 1930 and 1939, almost balancing the 12,801,000 reported by the Department of Agriculture as leaving farms for cities, towns and villages.

Many other studies⁴ confirm this point-of-view, making it apparent that all internal migration cannot be included under one heading, and questionable if any appreciable amount of it can be so included. Therefore it devolves upon each investigator to identify the particular socio-economic factors which are to be considered as motivating migration and to delimit the migrant group by excluding from it all those whose migration is not traceable to these specific factors.

The attempt to do these things was made in a study of migration from the Anthracite Region of Northeastern Pennsylvania. This region is an economically distressed area, hence the attempt to escape from unemployment, or limited employment in what is usually conceived to be a hazardous and socially inferior occupation constituted the basic motivating factors. The region includes five counties (Luzerne, Lackawanna, Schuylkill, Carbon and Northumberland) which produce 95 percent of the anthracite of the United States. During the period (1927-1937) included in the study, the production of anthracite declined from 78,000,000 tons per year to less than

¹ C. J. Galpin, *Analysis of Migration of Population to and from Farms*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, 1927.

² J. N. Webb and M. Brown, *Migrant Families*, W. P. A. Division of Social Research, Mono. No. 18, Washington, 1938.

³ H. W. Moore and O. G. Lloyd, *The Back-to-the-Land Movement in Southern Indiana*. Indiana Ag. Exp. Sta. Bulletin No. 409, Lafayette, April, 1936.

⁴ See Dorothy S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, Social Science Research Council Bull. 43, New York, 1938; A. H. Hobbs, *Differentials in Internal Migration*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1941. Privately printed.

50,000,000. During the same interval the number of tons produced per man per day increased from 2.15 to 2.77. The decline in production combined with this increase in efficiency to reduce the average number of employees from 165,259 to 99,085 and the average number of days worked from 225 in 1927 to 189 in 1937. During these eleven years there was an average loss of 18,456,000 man-days of work per year. In comparing 1937 with 1927, the mines provided little more than one-half the working days for the number of men employed in 1927, or only one-half the number of men were needed to work the same number of days.

The study was further limited to a town (Plymouth, Pa., pop. 15,500) which accurately reflected the social atmosphere of the region and the decline of the industry. This limitation excluded rural areas which, though within the region, are relatively independent of mining conditions, and large cities (Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Hazleton). The rural areas are affected by rural-urban migration and the cities are influenced by suburbanization. The cities are affected by general business conditions as well as by the mining industry and in these respects are atypical. Other communities depend on one or a few mining operations and reflect the more or less capricious fortunes of these enterprises rather than those of the general trend of the industry. The town chosen for the study is large enough to provide an adequate sample, depends almost entirely on the anthracite industry, and had (in 1927) more than 50 mining operations within commuting distance which employed 50 men or more. The rate of population change, the nativity composition, birth rates, death rates, migration rates and other features of the town are representative of the region. Employment in the operations which were in the town or within commuting distance declined from 44,766 in 1927 to 29,305 in 1937, yet the decline was gradual enough to allow selective factors to operate in migration.

For four months during the summer of 1939, the author, with the intelligent and able assistance of Mr. Benjamin James of Dickinson College, collected information about migrants by visiting every third house in the town. Intensive inquiries were made concerning immediate relatives who had migrated. The data in practically all of the cases came from these personal interviews with the siblings or parents of the migrant. The data were then checked with other members of the family if these were subsequently encountered in the sample. The actual school records were used to verify reported educational attainment and the tax collector's records of persons who had moved out of town were used as a check on reported migration. Particular care was taken in the attempt to determine the motivation of migration in every case.

The total sample of 2,667 migrants included 2,068 out-migrants, 276 return-migrants and 323 in-migrants. The eleven-year span was then broken into the periods 1927-29, 1930-33 and 1934-37. During 1927-29, while

economic conditions elsewhere were spiralling upward toward "the new era," employment opportunities decreased seven percent in the economic radius of the town. It might be expected that those who migrated at this time, when the beginning economic contraction in the town contrasted so sharply with plentiful and expanding opportunities outside the region, would differ from those who migrated during 1930-33 when the limited opportunities in the region compared favorably with even greater limitation of opportunity outside the region. These two groups of migrants might differ also from the 1934-37 group which was leaving when the continued decline in the region contrasted with increasing opportunities outside.

Only 564 of the 2,068 out-migrants actually left the Anthracite Region as well as the town; migrated because of the low socio-economic conditions prevailing in the region; and, insofar as could be determined, exercised an appreciable element of choice in the decision to migrate. *This group, having the low socio-economic situation at the migration source as their common motivation, having departed from the region which was characterized by these socio-economic forces, and having exercised some element of choice in their migration, is called the "resultant" migrants.* All children and others who obviously could have had no choice in the matter of leaving the region or staying in it were excluded from this resultant migrant category, as were those who left the town but stayed within the region, and those who left the region under the motivation of personal factors (ill-health, desertion, scandal, wanderlust, etc.) which were not intimately associated with the low social status of mining as an occupation and the constriction of economic opportunity. All of these other migrants were classed as *epiphenomenal*. Of course, if a different set of assumptions is posited as regards the basic motivating forces in migration, many of the "epiphenomenal" migrants might then come under the "resultant" category, and vice versa. The distinction between these two classes is difficult to draw in some cases, but it can be done roughly, frequently enough to reduce the group to those who are "migrants" in the sense that they have exercised choice in the matter, and "resultant" in the sense that their migration is the product of a particular set of socio-economic factors. In this study the basic motivating forces are those associated with a marked and progressive decline in the principal industry, that industry having at best relatively low social status. Marked differences between the resultant migrants and the total migrant group (which included the epiphenomenal as well as resultant migrants) were found in this study when the out-migrants⁵ and the return-migrants were thus separated.

Most studies of migration show that it is a phenomenon characteristic of older adolescents and young adults. This study is no exception in this re-

⁵ Since the survey was made during the summer of 1939, a minimum of one and one-half years was allowed for return. All out-migrants, then, had been away from the town at least one and one-half years.

spect. The total migrant sample shows a slight degree of age-selectivity (45.9 percent in the 15-29 age-group compared with 42.8 percent in this group in the population of the town). The resultant migrant group, however, included 71.6 percent of its members in this age-group.

Another conclusion commonly arrived at in studies of internal migration is that females are more migratory than males. The total out-migrant sample supported this contention, males constituting only 48.4 percent of the group. When the resultant group is analyzed, however, it is found that 51.6 percent are male, and that appreciable differences in sex-selectivity exist on the basis of the socio-economic gradient⁶ prevailing at the time of migration. During the 1927-29 period, when opportunities in the town were just beginning their drastic decline and industrial conditions prospered elsewhere, 55.9 percent of the resultant migrants were male. In the 1930-33 period of general depression, when opportunities within the region were no more restricted than they were outside the region, the males constituted only 46.7 percent of this group, while from 1934 to 1937 the percentage of males increased again to 52.6. An additional feature of the 1930-33 resultant migration was the high percentage of females of foreign-born parentage. For *this group*, jobs in the "servant" category, which were available even in the depths of the depression, represented an improvement in social and economic status. Thus, though the upward slope of the gradient had been eliminated or even reversed for many elements of the population in the region, it still existed for the females of foreign parentage who had low economic and social status, more modest economic and social aspirations, and who were confronted with the increasingly intensive competition for the affections of the males of foreign parentage by the native-stock females. This last condition was related to the fact that the native stock-males, who constituted the most likely prospective husbands of the native-stock females, had migrated earlier in disproportionately large numbers. The findings indicate that in this situation the females made up the bulk of short-distance epiphenomenal migration and that they predominated when the socio-economic gradient between the migration source and goal was not steep.

The most controversial questions regarding selectivity and internal migration are those which relate to intelligence and to educational attainment. Unfortunately there were no I.Q. data which could be used in this study, and, acknowledging the limitations of scholastic grades and educational attainment as indications of intelligence, we can only indicate the differences

⁶ This refers to the degree of difference of social and economic opportunity between the migration source and its goal. Since techniques for the precise measurement of the socio-economic opportunities are not available, the investigator must rely on generalized indices of economic conditions (extent and types of employment opportunities, employment trends, relief rates, etc.) and insight into the social nature of the regions to determine the direction and angle of the gradient.

which are found in these respects between the total out-migrant sample and the resultant migrants. The reports of educational attainment which were obtained in the interviews were checked for accuracy at the local schools whenever possible. According to the reports and records of the total out-migrant sample (Table 1), the migrants showed only slightly greater educa-

TABLE 1. COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, BY PERCENTAGES, OF RESULTANT MIGRANTS, TOTAL OUT-MIGRANTS, AND A CONTROL GROUP OF NON-MIGRATING SIBLINGS: 1927-1937*

Number Grades Completed	Resultant Migrants (562 Cases)	Total Out-Migrants (1,598 Cases)	Non-Migrating Siblings of Migrants (1,483 Cases)
Eight or Less	45.5	59.1	57.9
More than 8	54.5	40.9	42.1
Twelve or More	36.9	25.1	22.9
More than 12	11.8	6.2	4.1

* The educational attainment of 2 of the 564 resultant migrants was unknown. Of the 2,068 in the total out-migrant sample, 465 were still attending school at the time of the survey and the educational attainment of 5 was unknown. The 1,749 siblings of persons in the total out-migrant sample are taken as a representative control group of non-migrants since some member of practically every family in the town has migrated. Of these 1,749; 266 were still attending school.

tional attainment (25.1 percent graduates of high-school and 6.2 percent with college training) than a control group of non-migrants, of whom 22.9 percent graduated from high-school and 4.1 percent attended college. The resultant migrant group, however, contained 36.9 percent of high-school graduates and 11.8 percent of college trained persons. The group with relatively the greatest amount of education left during the earliest period. The group with the least education left in the 1930-33 period, which was also the only period marked by a majority of female migrants. Without presuming to imply a close correlation between high-school grades and intelligence, but merely to point out another distinction between epiphenomenal and resultant migrants, the former earned grades which averaged 78.1 for their high-school careers, while the latter averaged 80.3. In respect to educational attainment and ability the study indicated that the inclusion of all migrants tends to obscure the differences which may exist between the resultant migrants and non-migrants.

In occupational status also, there are differences between the resultant migrants and the total group of migrants. Comparison of these two groups with a control group of non-migrants (Table 2) on the basis of their occupational distribution on the Edwards⁷ socio-economic hierarchy of occupations shows that on all occupational levels in which there are differences large enough to be considered indicative of selectivity between resultant migrants

⁷ Edwards, Alba M., *Alphabetical Index of Occupations*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1937.

TABLE 2. PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, BY PERCENTAGES OF RESULTANT MIGRANTS, TOTAL OUT-MIGRANTS, AND NON-MIGRATING SIBLINGS OF MIGRANTS*

Socio-Economic Occupational Group	Resultant Migrants (552 Cases)	Total Out-Migrants (1,514 Cases)	Non-Migrating Siblings (1,318 Cases)
Professions	12.5	6.6	4.2
Farm Owners	3.3	2.5	.1
Proprietors, etc.	8.7	7.7	2.7
Clerks and Kindred	15.4	12.4	9.9
Skilled and Foremen	16.5	12.9	7.2
Semi-Skilled	11.6	10.0	11.7
Farm Laborers	.7	1.6	.2
Unskilled	15.8	33.8	56.5
Servant	14.3	8.7	4.0
Unemployable	1.3	3.8	3.5
	100.1	100.0	100.0

* The occupations of 12 of the 564 resultant migrants could not be discovered. The 2,068 total out-migrants are reduced to 1,514 due to those who had not completed their education, an additional 51 who had left school but had never worked, and 38 whose occupation was unknown. In the non-migrating sibling group of 1,749 there were 266 who still attended school, and 165 who had left school but had not obtained work.

and non-migrants, these differences would have been minimized if the total out-migrant group had been taken as the basis of comparison. The non-migrants had 24.1 percent of their members on or above the level of skilled workers, the total migrant sample had 42.1 percent on or above this level, while the resultant group had 56.4 percent.

TABLE 3. PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, BY PERCENTAGES, OF RESULTANT MIGRANTS AND THEIR INTRA-REGIONAL SIBLINGS

Socio-Economic Occupational Group	Resultant Migrants (344 Cases)	Intra-Regional Siblings of Resultant Migrants (700 Cases)
Professions	15.7	5.3
Farm Owners	.9	.1
Proprietors, etc.	6.7	4.7
Clerks and Kindred Workers	16.3	11.6
Skilled and Foremen	16.0	7.4
Semi-Skilled	11.6	11.3
Farm Laborers	.6	.3
Unskilled	15.1	51.1
Servant	15.1	5.9
Unemployable	2.0	2.3
	100.0	100.0

To reduce variables to a minimum, the resultant migrants who had siblings with occupational status remaining within the Anthracite Region were compared with these siblings in respect to occupational attainment (Table 3). This specific comparison between brothers and sisters eliminated the possibility of superior socio-economic background as a factor in the

occupational attainment of the resultant migrants. This group of resultant migrants is found to have 55.6 percent of its members who attain the skilled labor level or higher, while their brothers and sisters who stayed in the region placed only 29.1 percent of their members on these upper socio-economic levels.

A further comparison between those resultant migrants whose fathers were on the lower occupational levels (semi-skilled, unskilled and servant) and their non-migrant siblings showed that 49.8 percent of the former group rose to the skilled level or higher, as compared with only 20.1 percent of the latter.

The source of migration was a distressed area in which the major industry contracted 40 percent in employment opportunities during the eleven year period included in the study. The nature of coal mining makes it a somewhat hazardous and unpleasant task, with relatively little opportunity for advancement even when the industry prospers. This background of a region limited to a large extent to one socially undesirable occupation was combined with a marked decline in that industry to bring about a considerable amount of migration. However, the industrial decline was not sufficiently drastic to bring about a wholesale evacuation. The socio-economic pressures which operated to push people out of the region were exerted gradually enough to allow selective factors to operate in the migration process.

During this time the goal of the bulk of resultant migration was undergoing appreciable changes in its socio-economic structure. More than 93 percent went to industrial cities of over 50,000 population which were affected in appreciable degree by the "great depression." Approximately half of them went to New York City, Newark, Philadelphia or Detroit. Thus the migrants in the 1927-29 period were going from an area which offered little, and promised to offer less, in the way of attractive social or economic opportunities, to areas of relatively great opportunity. This first group, the pioneers of the movement, were migrating along a steep upward gradient. Under these circumstances migration was most highly selective of unmarried native-stock males who showed relatively a higher degree of educational attainment than the migrants of the subsequent periods.

During the second period the migrants moved along a low socio-economic gradient. Conditions in the Anthracite Region were bad, but opportunities outside the region were limited to a degree great enough to offset the low status and continued decline at the migration source. During this period migration was selective of females rather than males; the greatest percentage of married persons; the least well-educated of any of the three periods. As economic conditions outside the region improved in contrast to the continued decline in the region, the angle of the gradient rose again. In the third period the males again outnumbered the females, the percentage of married persons decreased, and this group was midway between the other

two in educational attainment. The factors involved in upward movement along the socio-economic occupational scale are too many and too diverse to permit any conclusive statement about the three groups, but the first group had 69.4 percent of its members attaining the level of skilled workers or higher, the second had 59.4 percent and the third 52.3.

What of the people who moved into the town during its decline? Unfortunately the number of people moving into the town from outside the Anthracite Region was too small to limit the in-migrants according to the "resultant" criteria, so only the children were eliminated from this group. Not only were these in-migrants a less select group than the resultant migrants, but they were also inferior to the average of the non-migrating population of the town in some respects. Only 28 percent of the resultant out-migrants were 30 years of age or over, compared with 52.3 percent of the in-migrants (all ages, of course, refer to the age at time of migration). The majority of the in-migrants (56 percent) were female as compared with 48.4 percent of the resultant out-migrants. When the in-migrants moved into the town 87.4 percent of them were married, as compared with 56.2 percent of the population (15 years of age and older) in the town who are married and 50.4 percent of the resultant out-migrants who were married at the time they migrated. The in-migrants included only 18.6 percent of high-school graduates compared with 22.9 percent in the town and 36.9 percent in the resultant out-migrant group. Only 28.6 percent of the in-migrants attained the level of skilled workers or higher as compared with 24.1 percent of the non-migrants and 56.4 percent of the resultant out-migrants.

Use of the angle of the socio-economic gradient existing at a given time between the source of migration and its goal, in conjunction with the limitation of the migrant group to the resultant classification produced a definite pattern of results in this particular study. When the gradient was steepest there was the greatest degree of selectivity of males, single persons, and those with more education. When the gradient was reversed, migration was selective to the least degree on the basis of these items. The group moving into the town contained more of the older, married, female, poorly educated, and stood lower on the socio-economic occupational scale than the resultant migrants of any period. This situation may have been unique. The symmetrical pattern of migration may be only a misleading coincidence. The multitudinous aspects of human behavior compel one to be wary of dogmatic assertions, so these findings are offered as suggestive of a type of approach to the problem of selective internal migration rather than as conclusive dicta. However, other studies appeared to support these views when placed in this conceptual framework.⁸

⁸ Hobbs, A. H., *op. cit.*, chap. 8.

Selective factors in internal migration apparently operated as a function of the socio-economic gradient in this study. The forces which governed migration were most selective of young, single males with a greater amount of education and whatever abilities are necessary to rise on the socio-economic occupational scale when the gradient was steepest, from a low source to a high goal. They were least selective in relation to these items, or most highly selective of the opposing characteristics when the gradient sloped down into a region of little opportunity. The pioneering factor may be an element in the selectivity of the earliest group also. That is, quicker reaction to adverse conditions may be a factor as well as the angle of the gradient.

Confirmation or rejection of this point of view must wait upon other studies based on a variety of natural regions. If such studies are to be made, some of the principles which may prove useful are: (1) choice of a specific socio-economic natural region in which the decline or rise has been pronounced, yet gradual enough to allow selectivity to operate; (2) limitation of the migrant group to those who move out of this region and into a region with contrasting features; (3) a further limitation of the migrant group, insofar as is possible, to those who move out of, or into the region because of the basic socio-economic forces and who may reasonably be presumed to have exercised choice in the matter.

NEGRO INTERNAL MIGRATION*

LYONEL C. FLORANT

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Points of interest. Migration as a mass movement and as an individual experience. What changes have taken place in Negro migration? A useful evaluation of the materials in this field. [Ed.]

THE SPATIAL movements of the American Negro since Emancipation have offered a rich opportunity to study migration in many of its aspects, as testified by the extensive literature on the subject. It is impossible in this brief paper to treat all the significant features of Negro migration that have been dealt with. An attempt at this has been made elsewhere, in an unpublished manuscript prepared by the writer for the Carnegie Study, *The Negro in America*. Rather, it is the aim of this paper to abstract from research on the Negro migrant, a series of generalizations that appear to be useful in analyzing the behavior of individuals who migrate. Although these have been taken from research on the Negro, it is evident that they hold, more or less, for other divisions of the population.

Research on migration poses two crucial problems: Do spatial movements of individuals follow a generalized pattern? If so, what are the common experiences of migrants that make for similar, rather than unique behavior?

Ever since Ravenstein published his "Laws of Migration" in 1885, investigators have attempted to discover the patterns of human migration. Interest has centered on several aspects: distance, direction, the fluctuations in gross rates of movement, the relation of individual moves to the subsequent distribution of population, and finally, the measurable characteristics of migrants. We have in mind such studies as these when we refer to the pattern of migration. In another type of investigation, interest has focused on the experiences of the migrant.

It is apparent that the pattern of movement and the experiences of the individuals involved are both essential to an adequate understanding of the dynamics of human migration; but the two approaches are quite distinct. If a pattern exists, it can be delineated without any knowledge of the underlying experiences, and similarly, considerable knowledge concerning the experiences of individual migrants can be obtained, without delineating a pattern.

Negro migration has been approached from both angles, although investigations dealing with the pattern have tended to be more satisfactory than those directed at the experiences of the individual. This has resulted from the relatively greater illusiveness of data concerning underlying experiences

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, Dec. 28, 1941.

as compared with those on movements, even though much of the latter variety are far from satisfactory for scientific purposes. As a consequence, researches from both angles are still in their infancy. At best, most of the available literature consists of ingenious speculation, rather than verified knowledge.

I. The Pattern of Negro Migration. That the movements of Negroes have not been random, but have followed a pattern, seems apparent from the material that is available. As with all modern migration, the outstanding feature has been the movement to cities. The commercial and industrial revolutions set in motion a flow of population from rural areas toward the great industrial and commercial centers. From the close of the Civil War to the Great Depression of the Thirties, American cities have continuously drawn people from the farms to maintain an expanding industry and commerce. During periodic industrial crises, the flow has subsided, and occasionally even reversed itself, but with the resuscitation of industry and the ensuing new demand for workers, the streams of migrants cityward have expanded.

The Negro population, which was predominantly agricultural, did not share equally in these movements until the first World War. Although American industry was drawing hundreds of thousands of unskilled agricultural workers annually from domestic and foreign farms, the door to these new urban opportunities was not opened to the Negro until the second decade of the Twentieth Century. True, Negro women had found domestic employment in cities, especially in the South, and Negro men had obtained urban employment, mostly as laborers, but the demand for industrial workers was only indirectly felt by these non-industrial workers. Occasionally Negroes were solicited by industry as strikebreakers, but as soon as the conflict was settled, they were usually released.

The effect of this situation on the distribution of the Negro population is seen in the following figures: in 1860, 95 percent of the Negro population resided in States where slavery was legal;¹ fifty years later, in 1910, 91 percent were still in this area.

With the curtailment of foreign immigration during and after the first World War, and the acceleration of the demand for unskilled workers, northern industry finally turned to the Negro labor reserve in the South. It is estimated that more than a million Negroes migrated northward during

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all figures cited in this paper are based on United States Census reports for the indicated years. The "South" has a special connotation throughout this paper. It refers to all states having sizable slave population in 1860. This criterion has classed Missouri as a Southern state along with the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central divisions of the Census. The "West" includes all three of the divisions west of Wisconsin and Illinois, with Missouri omitted: West North Central, Mountain and Pacific. The remaining three divisions, East North Central, Middle Atlantic and New England comprise the "East."

the period from 1910 to 1930 in response to these new opportunities.

That this movement was directed principally toward the large metropolitan areas of the North is shown by the fact that 60 percent of all Negroes in the North in 1930 resided within the metropolitan areas of five cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and Pittsburgh.

The location of cities with respect to reservoirs of potential migrants has been significant in determining the sources of new labor. There were only 195 thousand rural Negroes in the North and West in 1910. Thus, the southern cities were in a favored position with respect to the rural Negro labor supply. This is reflected in part by the fact that between 1910 and 1930 the Negro population in southern cities grew almost as rapidly as that in northern and western cities combined, 1,200,000 as compared with 1,300,000. Despite this fact, when gains of individual cities are compared, those in the North far surpass most of those in the South.

The effect of the northern labor shortage was felt in the backwoods of the deep South. The rural Negro population in this area declined between 1910 and 1930 from 6,900,000 to 6,400,000, while the southern urban Negro population, as already indicated, increased 1,200,000. These losses in rural population, though related to the northward movement, were not wholly caused by the industrial demand. The northern boom was preceded by the devastation of large cotton growing areas of the Southeast by the boll-weevil and floods.

Thornthwaite has charted the main routes of native Negro migrants suggested by state-of-birth data for 1930.² These show clearly that the northward movement was concentrated in three main streams. The largest stream flowed from Georgia through the states along the Atlantic coast, and terminated in Pennsylvania and New York. A second stream originated in Mississippi and Alabama, crossed Tennessee and Kentucky, and split in Ohio into three branches—one going to Indiana and Illinois, a second to Michigan, and a third remaining in Ohio. The third stream flowed from Louisiana through Arkansas and Missouri into Illinois, with a single offshoot crossing Indiana into Michigan. Migrants were gained and deposited in each of the states along the routes.

The direction of the three routes, was clearly one from South to North. They originated in the rural areas of the deep South, passed through the towns and cities of the South and Border States and terminated in the large cities of the North. Their resemblance to antebellum movements by way of the Underground Railway has been suggested by Charles S. Johnson.³

² Warren C. Thornthwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States, Study of Population Redistribution*, Bulletin Number One. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1934, p. 14. See also Plate 5 opposite p. 16.

³ Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930, p. 17.

Further evidence of these definite routes of movement prior to 1930 is presented by Thornthwaite in a set of maps showing the state of birth of native Negroes in twelve cities.⁴ New York and Philadelphia gained the bulk of their out-of-state-born migrants from along the Atlantic seaboard. Chicago migrants came from southern states on either side of the Mississippi and on the Gulf. Migrants to Detroit and Cleveland came from states as far south as Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, probably by way of the Ohio Valley. Southern cities, on the other hand, had relatively few northern-born Negroes in 1930. Cities in the Border States gained considerably from states in the Deep South, while cities in the latter area had relatively few residents born out of the state.

These routes of Negro migration do not represent individual movements. They portray the net effect of all movements made by Negroes from birth until the time of the 1930 Census. It has been remarked that migration to the North was often not direct. Some writers suggest that many of the migrants moved in stages, from southern farms to nearby towns and cities, and later from these cities to those in the North. Data showing the relative importance of these two types of movements are available only for limited areas. Kiser for example found that of 214 St. Helena migrants residing in New York in 1928 only 100, or less than half, had moved directly.⁵

A third type of migration which has received almost no consideration may be referred to as displacement migration.⁶ It is known that the rural South lost 500 thousand Negroes between 1910 and 1930. Meanwhile the urban South and the urban North and West, as previously indicated, each gained over a million Negroes. That there was considerable rural to urban movement during this period is obvious from the data. Such population changes could not have occurred from natural increase alone. The amount of movement that originated in the plantations of the Deep South and terminated in the northern commercial centers, whether direct or in delayed stages, is open to question. True, large numbers of southern Negroes moved to nearby towns and cities, but whether or not these same individuals comprised the majority of those who later arrived in northern cities has not been subject to verification.

The displacement hypothesis suggests that aside from direct moves, and moves in stages, a considerable proportion of the Negroes arriving in the North were born in southern cities and not on farms. The flow of population, according to this hypothesis involved two or more segments of mi-

⁴ Thornthwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁵ Clyde V. Kiser, *Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers*. New York: Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law No. 368. 1932, p. 162.

⁶ Lyonel C. Florant, "Negro Migration in the Depression to New York City As Reflected in Church Data." (Unpublished Masters' Essay, Department of Economics, Columbia University. February, 1939.) Pp. 36-38.

grants: first those who moved from southern farms to southern cities, and second those who moved from southern cities to northern cities. It is evident that a single chain of relatively short moves of this nature would have the same effect on the subsequent distribution of the Negro population, as a single move, either direct or in stages, from a farm in the South to a city in the North.

The hypothesis was suggested by a recent study of a group of New York migrants in which more than 70 percent gave southern cities as their birthplaces.⁷ Scattered bits of information collected on the characteristics of migrants arriving in northern centers offer support to the hypothesis, though the material is inconclusive. For example, local studies made of the characteristics of northern migrants during the period of great influx, suggest that many of the migrants followed non-farm pursuits prior to migration. It is also known that southern industrial cities like Birmingham were recruiting centers for northern industries.

An important phase of the pattern of migration is the changes in the rate of flow of migrants in a given direction. Lacking data on annual movement, it has been impossible to study in any detail the relation between the flow of Negro migrants to the North and periodic changes in industrial conditions. Since the great northward movement has been under way less than three decades, census data do not permit such an analysis. It is possible, however, to compare regional estimates of net migration for the decade of prosperity 1920-1930, with similar estimates for 1930-1940. This has been done for the Negro population 10 years and over from age group data using United States survival ratios. The Negro population in each region in 1940 had to be estimated from the non-white population reported by the Census on the basis of a 5 percent sample. These 1930-1940 estimates are more subject to error, therefore, than the estimates for the previous decade.

During the decade of depression the South lost less than half as many Negroes as it did during the decade of prosperity; but it is significant that despite great unemployment in the North and West there were sizable gains through migration in both of these areas. The western gain in particular was significant, probably surpassing that of 1920 to 1930. The estimates show that the South lost 317 thousand Negroes through migration between 1930 and 1940 as compared with 716 thousand between 1920 and 1930. Meanwhile the West gained 45 thousand in the second decade as compared with 41 thousand in the first, and the North gained 272 thousand, less than half of the 675 thousand estimated for the period 1920 to 1930.

In a more detailed analysis that has not been published, Stouffer found that the recent western gains were particularly sizable in California, sur-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

passing those of the previous decade. The northern gains were not distributed in the same proportions as in the earlier period. Whereas New York's population was considerably augmented by Negro migration in the 1930-1940 decade, the size of Illinois' population was hardly affected.

An interesting relationship between European immigration and Negro migration to the industrial North was described by Charles S. Johnson several years ago.⁸ He presented evidence for several decades prior to the World War which seemed to show that Negro migration to the North increased when foreign immigration fell off. The fluctuations described were not compensating in size, but the relationship apparently held over many decades.

That migration is selective with respect to the individuals involved is suggested in most studies that have been made. However, as Dorothy Thomas indicated in her *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, only two studies on the Negro can really be considered noteworthy attempts to establish the existence of such differentials.⁹ Research in this field still remains in its infancy despite the hundreds of attempts that have been made. Except for sex and age and in some cases occupation, our knowledge concerning migration differentials is practically nil. Klineberg's noteworthy attempt to relate Negro migration to performance on intelligence tests still awaits further development.¹⁰ Even in the cases of sex and age, we do know that selection varies with time, community, and probably distance. Furthermore, as Thomas suggests, it is necessary to take age into consideration in examining sex differentials, especially when the evidence is based on sex ratios.¹¹

We can summarize our knowledge with respect to migration differentials among Negroes as follows: prior to the movement to industrial centers, the Negro urban population was predominantly female. War migration attracted a disproportionate number of men to the industrial centers, especially those having basic industries. Thus, in 1920, Negro sex ratios in northern cities were quite different for the industrial as contrasted with the commercial centers. During the following decade the proportion of female migrants evidently increased considerably, as the high ratios of the industrial centers in 1920 more nearly approached unity by 1930. It is too early to determine whether these sex differentials will persist over a period of several decades. It would seem likely that cities that continue to offer greater opportunities for Negro females than males will tend to maintain a preponderance of females, at those ages most affected by migration.

⁸ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

⁹ Dorothy S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1938, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ Otto Klineberg, *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1935.

¹¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

The evidence with respect to age selection indicates that areas showing gains through migration tend to have an excess of persons between the ages of 20 and 44. The areas of loss tend to have deficits in the same age range. This range appears to be broader than that including most of the actual migrants.¹² If the ages of Negro migrants had been obtained directly, it is likely that the age span of the great bulk of them would be found to be somewhat narrower.

II. Individual Experiences Underlying the Pattern. Underlying this dominant pattern of movement are the experiences of the millions of individuals involved. As stated previously, our knowledge in this area is relatively limited. Although promising insights have been gained from scattered documents and interviews, it appears that only one effort has been made in which the sample of individuals interviewed has been subject to control in terms of time, place and distance. The reference is to Kiser's St. Helena Study. Nevertheless, some of the historical materials on Negro migration represent ingenious efforts at culling out of a mass of data some of the main aspects of the migration experience. Many of these speculations offer a basis for setting up significant hypotheses.

The assumption that people migrate in the direction of what they consider to be greater opportunities appears in most of the literature on migration. This holds for materials on the Negro as well. Although this assumption is usually made, in explaining why the cities of the North had such an attraction for the southern Negro migrant, the analysis has often been in terms of the objective conditions rather than from the point of view of the migrant. Opportunities as viewed by the migrant seem to be only indirectly related to the objective situation as the all-knowing observer views it. No one about to move has a complete knowledge of his relative chances in all the possible places to which he might move. His knowledge of existing opportunities is limited and his appraisal of those he has heard about is likely to be subject to error. Individuals of course vary considerably in their appraisal of the objective situation on both of these counts.

We have not, therefore, found a one-to-one relationship between relative opportunities and migration. If this condition had obtained, it is obvious that the inequalities among Negroes with respect to opportunities would have more nearly approached equilibrium. It is difficult to say just how close a relationship is obtained between opportunities and migration. It probably varies with time and place.

Attempts have been made, of course, to appraise migration from the migrant's point of view, but the particular problem of how he views relative opportunities has not been dealt with. Kiser comes closest to approaching it in the St. Helena study.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Considerable attention has been paid to relative distances of moves. The distinction has been made between long distance and short distance moves. We know relatively little about how the migrant perceives distance. Most writers proceed on the assumption that two points equidistant from the migrant have the same attraction provided the chances of making a living are about the same. It would seem that distance may or may not be an important consideration to the migrant. Its importance has certainly diminished with improved communication and transportation facilities. It would be interesting to see this problem approached intensively in terms of the migrant's experience.

It has been suggested in recent articles that direction may modify distance due to differences in kinds of opportunities sought by the migrants and offered by communities.¹³ Kiser's study suggests that the whole gamut of a migrant's experience enters into his consideration of how remote or how accessible an opportunity is.¹⁴

It would seem that both the perception of opportunities and distance are dependent on communication. The role of letters, labor agents, Negro newspapers, and visits from former migrants has received ample treatment in the literature.¹⁵ It has also been noted that the routes of migration described by state of birth data strongly suggest the great influence of railroad lines on the direction and destination of the migrant. Each of the three streams of migration follow rather closely the great transportation routes running North and South in the valleys and on the Atlantic coast. To what extent wider contacts and improved transportation facilities have made for greater freedom of movement, is not yet known.

The literature suggests that all spatial movements do not have the same significance. Some have been almost routine, involving little or no change in social relationships and individual experiences; others present definite crises in the lives of the migrants, as well as in the social structures of the communities affected. The first type of movement is exemplified by the annual shifting of southern Negro sharecroppers from plantation to plantation; the latter type, involving crises, is typified by much of the movement cityward. It would be interesting for someone to study the relationship between distance *per se* and the intensity of crises to be confronted. Some evidence is available to show that movement tends to be greater between

¹³ Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, no. 6, Dec., 1940, p. 865.

Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Interstate-Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, no. 6, Dec., 1941, pp. 781-783.

¹⁴ Kiser, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ See for example: Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, No. 16. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economic History.) New York, 1920 and Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1922.

similar communities.¹⁶ This relationship, though it probably held for the bulk of Negro movements to the North, was violated in part by the direct soliciting of northern industries. To what extent more numerous contacts with city folk and the existence of well established Negro communities in the North have lessened the crises experienced by the migrant is not known. It is doubtful that it has been great enough to overcome completely the influence of distance.

There is evidence that the Great Migration was on occasion a mass migration rather than a movement of individuals, especially during the early stages. Scott refers to whole communities and church congregations being uprooted, transplanted, and reestablished, almost intact, in northern centers.¹⁷ It is also known that clubs were organized for the purpose of migrating. The influence of suggestion was of course great.

Despite these collective aspects of the picture, individual motivation played its part. Kiser has gone into this matter more intensively than any other writer in the St. Helena Study, *Sea Island to City*.¹⁸ Space does not allow a summary of this study here. Suffice it to say that an attempt was made in 1928 to locate and interview at length all living migrants from St. Helena, S. C. The author tried to learn from the migrants the sequence of events leading up to migration, the considerations surrounding the initial decision to move, the immediate circumstances surrounding the move, and subsequent happenings. Although Kiser found widely different types of experiences in these life histories, he was able to filter out and give meaning, from the point of view of the migrant, what seemed to him to be basic patterns of behavior underlying Negro migration from St. Helena.

Kiser's research offers a valuable lead to a relatively new approach to migration. He found that "general dissatisfaction with economic conditions or monotony of life are often predisposing causes, but the immediate occasions for migration are usually specific and concrete incidents."¹⁹ From this it would seem to follow that some individuals have greater potentialities for migration than others. As far as is known, no one has ever attempted a prediction study in the field of migration. The literature offers a vast number of suggestive clues concerning the potentialities of individuals to migrate. These may be grouped under five main headings: (1) extent of individual contact with other communities; (2) ability of the individual to release himself with relative ease from group ties and obligations in the local community; (3) sanction of the local community to his leaving; (4)

¹⁶ Jane Moore, *Cityward Migration*, Swedish Data, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938.

¹⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸ Kiser, *op. cit.*, See Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-159, for an excellent evaluation of this study.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

sanction of the community of destination to his entry; and (5) the accessibility of the means of transportation to the individual. Such an approach would allow the investigator to test some of his hypotheses in a fashion that has not been possible in the past.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that our knowledge in the field of migration has been confined for the most part to speculation because of the difficulties confronted in obtaining data. As yet we have no national data either on individual moves or on the characteristics of those who move. Nor does the average investigator have the necessary resources for collecting such data. Until this situation is changed, it would seem that greater effort will have to be made to utilize data collected for other purposes, as Stouffer did in the Cleveland study. The problems to be studied and the areas to be covered will have to be narrowed considerably, but more studies confined to some single hypothesis would add greatly to our present knowledge.

After the 1940 Census data on migration become available, our knowledge of the pattern of migration will probably be greatly improved. However, we can expect only to draw inferences from such data with respect to the experiences underlying the pattern. There will still be need for investigators to study the experiences of the migrant and give meaning to the observed behavior. It is at this point that the demographer and the social psychologist will have to pool their knowledge.

Investigators adopting a rigorous sociological approach have tended to pass up the experiences of the migrant leading up to migration. They have focussed far more attention on the problems of adjustment subsequent to migration. It would seem that the social psychologist has a real contribution to make to our knowledge of migration on the plane of human experience as contrasted with the behavioral plane viewed by the demographer. Similarly, the social psychologist can learn much from the demographer concerning the application of his investigation to the larger pattern of migration. As stated in the early part of this paper, we sorely need to develop both approaches if we are to raise our knowledge concerning the behavior of the migrant above the level of speculation.

DISTRIBUTION, AGE, AND MOBILITY OF MINNESOTA PHYSICIANS, 1912-1936*

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Points of interest. Some interesting facts about the movement of physicians. A factual background for rural health planning. [Ed.]

THE PHYSICIAN is the crucial factor in the organization and functioning of social institutions for health maintenance. The availability to the population of his skilled services, as well as his counsel and leadership in community organization, are antecedent to the achievement of desirable goals in the matters of health. While hospitals, clinical and other facilities are vitally important, it is needless to point out that they are secondary in importance to the professional personnel which mans them. With the maintenance of the public health assuming such major importance in the present national crisis, some knowledge of general trends in the distribution and characteristics of medical personnel in peace time should be of value.

This study is a presentation of some preliminary data on physicians in Minnesota, which were secured from the Directories of the American Medical Association from 1912 to 1936 inclusive.

Distribution of Physicians by Size of Community. The proportion of the State's physicians in small communities has declined steadily from 1912 to 1931. A small rise in the percentage of doctors in small places is indicated for 1934, but there was an apparent decline again from 1934 to 1936. The 1931 to 1934 trend is probably a reflection of the influence of the depression. There appears to have been a slight "back-to-the-land" movement among physicians during this period.

It is significant to note also that from 1912 to 1931 there was not only a decline in the proportion of all doctors in places under 2500, but there was an absolute decline in numbers as well, from 864 to 720. The number and proportion of Minnesota's physicians located in towns from 2500 to 5000 in population has remained almost constant since 1921 although a definite increase took place from 1912 to 1921. There has been only slight fluctuation since that time.

A rather marked change in the number and proportion of physicians in places from 5000 to 10,000 is noticeable especially from 1912 to 1931, after which there was a marked decline. This, however, may be due to the changes in the size classification of the communities rather than to any desertion of doctors. In other words, a community which contained slightly under 10,000 people in 1910, might have

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"graduated" to the next larger category by 1920. This applies to all size groups, of course. There is no doubt, for instance, that the "decline" in the number and proportion of physicians in towns of 5000 to 10,000 from 1912 to 1921 was due in part to the influence of Rochester (location of the Mayo Clinic) being classified as over 10,000 in 1921, whereas, it was under 10,000 in 1912.

Conspicuous increases from decade to decade are also to be noted in the case of the larger cities. The urban trend of physician concentration has proceeded steadily since 1912. If we include the Twin Cities and Duluth with the cities of over 10,000 the percentages of the state's physicians concentrated in these centers since 1912 are 46.2, 56.7, 64.8, 63.2, and 64 for the years 1912, 1921, 1931, 1934, and 1936 respectively. Apparently the gain in number of rural physicians in the depression years was partly at the expense of the large cities. All places under 10,000 gained slightly during the depression period.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF MINNESOTA PHYSICIANS 1912-1936

Size of Place	1912		1921		1931		1934		1936	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Total	2270	100.0	2630	100.0	3074	100.0	3173	100.0	3279	100.0
Under 500	301	13.2	230	8.7	186	6.0	220	6.9	210	6.4
500-999	232	10.3	220	8.4	230	7.5	250	7.9	255	7.8
1000-2499	331	14.6	305	11.6	304	9.9	306	9.7	313	9.6
2500-4999	122	5.4	182	6.9	189	6.2	200	6.3	204	6.2
5000-9999	234	10.3	203	7.7	173	5.6	191	6.0	198	6.0
10,000-24,999	91	4.0	330	12.6	568	18.5	488	15.4	566	17.3
Twin Cities and Duluth	959	42.2	1160	44.1	1424	46.3	1518	47.8	1533	46.7

Finally, the total number of physicians registered in the state has shown a steady increase, but since 1931 nearly two-thirds of them have been located in cities of over 10,000 population.

If we classify all physicians in the state according to rural or urban residence (considering all places under 2500 as rural), we note that since 1912 the physicians in rural areas constitute a steadily declining proportion of the whole. By using the registrations for those years nearest the decennial census periods and by interpolation of population for 1912, we can calculate the persons per physician in both the rural and urban populations. The results simply reveal in another way this trend toward urban concentration. The number of persons per doctor has increased in rural areas and declined in urban areas.

A further comparison was made between those counties of the state which contained no community of 2500 population or more, which we have called "rural" and those which did contain an "urban" center 2500 or more in population, and the four counties, Olmsted, Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis. The last three counties contain the large cities, while Olmsted is the county in which Rochester and the Mayo Clinic are located. There is not much difference between the "urban" and "rural" counties, but the four counties contain conspicuously larger proportions of

TABLE 2. RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION WITH NUMBER AND RATIO OF PHYSICIANS FOR 1912, 1921, AND 1931¹

	State		Rural		Urban	
	Number	Pct.	Number	Pct.	Number	Pct.
Population:						
1912 ²	2,134,866	100	1,246,706	58.4	888,160	41.6
1921	2,387,125	100	1,335,532	55.9	1,051,593	44.1
1931	2,563,953	100	1,306,337	51.0	1,257,616	49.0
1934 ³	2,619,000					
1936 ³	2,635,000					
Number Physicians:						
1912	2,270	100	864	38.1	1,406	61.9
1921	2,630	100	755	28.7	1,875	71.3
1931	3,074	100	720	23.4	2,354	76.6
1934	3,173					
1936	3,279					
Persons per Physician:						
1912	936		1,443		632	
1921	908		1,769		561	
1931	834		1,814		534	
1934	826					
1936	803					

¹ Dates of the American Medical Association Directories.² Estimated by interpolation.³ U. S. Census estimates.

the physicians and correspondingly smaller numbers of persons per doctor. The trend is toward accentuating this difference for the period given (1912-1931). In other words the number of persons per doctor in the cities has been growing fewer from decade to decade while in the rural areas it has grown correspondingly larger.

By separating from the "urban" counties, the four counties which contain the three largest cities and the one in which the Mayo Clinic is located, the urban concentration becomes even more marked. While these four counties contained only 49.3 percent of the doctors in 1912, the proportion had increased to 62.5 percent in 1931. A similar disproportionate trend is seen in the doctor-population ratio. (See Table 4.)

This abandonment of the small town by the doctors is further shown by the steady decline in the number of one-doctor towns and in the increase in number of incorporated towns without doctors. The number of two-doctor towns has remained about the same. The figures for the three periods are as follows:

	1912	1921	1931
1-Doctor towns	243	235	185
2-Doctor towns	104	102	102
Incorporated towns with no doctor	177	241	306
Total incorporated places reported in Census 1910, 1920, and 1930.	633	682	728

Distribution of Doctors by Cultural Regions of the State. The state was divided into four regions on the basis of three indices: (1) The plane of living as measured by percentage of homes with running water, electric lights, telephone, radio, and ownership of automobile, secured from the

TABLE 3. POPULATION PER PHYSICIAN IN RURAL, URBAN, AND LARGE CITY COUNTIES OF MINNESOTA 1910, 1920, 1930¹

Area	1910	1920	1930
State	914	908	834
Rural Counties ²	1194	1433	1444
Urban Counties ³	1123	1216	1259
Large City Counties ⁴	665	606	544

¹ Population was not estimated for counties the years 1912, 1921, and 1931, when the medical directories appeared. This time lay between census years and the directories should not seriously distort the picture, however.

² Containing no center of 2500 or more people.

³ Containing one or more centers with 2500 or more people.

⁴ Hennepin, Ramsey, St. Louis, Olmsted (containing Rochester).

U. S. Census of 1930; (2) fertility of the population as measured by the number of children under 5 years of age to the number of women in the farm population in the age group 20-44 years for 1930; and (3) the percent of tenancy in 1935.

The plane of living and the fertility index have a rather definite relation to the problem of medical care. Regions with high fertility represent need of medical care for children and mothers, while the plane of living may be considered as a rough indirect measure of ability to pay.

The distribution of physicians for 1931 was used since two of the three indices above were based upon data from the 1930 Census. The indicated characteristics of these regions are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN POPULATION PER PHYSICIAN AND OTHER FACTORS

Region	Population Per Square Mile (1930)	Plane of Living ¹	Fertility ¹	Tenancy ¹	Total	Exclusive of Cities 10,000 and Over
					Population Per Doctor	Population Per Doctor
I	93.6	161.3	652	32.2	627	1,350
II	23.4	151.2	693	49.4	1,252	1,252
IIIa	27.0	120.2	715	31.4	1,408	1,627
IIIb	16.6	120.7	700	42.6	1,638	1,638
IV	13.9	92.0	774	24.2	1,305	1,781

¹ Value of median county in each region.

The distribution of physicians is shown to be inversely related to the fertility of the population; that is, the regions with the higher fertility ratios had the fewest doctors in proportion to the population, while the areas with lower fertility had relatively more doctors. As would normally be expected, the region with highest plane of living contains the greatest number of doctors, proportionate to population. Ability to pay doctor bills determines in the last analysis whether a locality has the services of a physician.

The "density" (per population) of physicians varies directly with the density (per area) of population. This is another way of saying that the physician ratio is less in the sparse, rural areas.

A rank correlation was computed for the counties between physician-population ratio and (a) fertility of the rural population and (b) farm income per farm as shown by the 1930 Census. The physician distribution as of 1930 was used. Hennepin, Ramsey, Olmsted, and St. Louis counties, containing as they do the large urban concentrations of doctors, were excluded in this calculation. The coefficients were respectively for (a) .273; and for (b) .435.¹ These values are scarcely large enough to be very significant, but they do tend to confirm the relationship between factors of high fertility, low income and relatively fewer doctors which we have noted earlier in connection with the rural-urban distribution. Since it is a well-known fact that the rural population has a higher birth rate, it is to be expected that there would be an inverse relationship between physician-density and the fertility of the population. We have noted also that there is an inverse ratio between plane of living, an indirect indicator of income, and the density of physicians. It would be expected also that there would be some positive relationship shown between farm income per farm and the physician-population ratio. While these coefficients are not large, they are at least indicative.

The apparent inverse ratio between population fertility and the proportion of doctors in different areas of the state, suggested the possibility of a relation existing between physician distribution and the infant mortality rate. To test this proposition rank correlation by counties was computed (a) the population per physician 1931, and (b) infant deaths per 1000 live births for the period 1930-36 inclusive. The value of the coefficient was .009, revealing no apparent relationship between these factors.

Comments on Physician Distribution. The growing disparity between rural and urban areas in the ratio of physicians to the populations of those areas does not necessarily mean that the rural areas are becoming worse off with reference to medical care. It is more likely a reflection of the influence of improved means of communication and transportation. In the period from 1914 to 1930 the number of miles of rural surfaced roads in Minnesota increased almost ten-fold, from 3968 to 37,217.² The development of the automobile had greatly increased the area and the number of patients which can be served by the country doctor, provided people are able to pay for his services.

The enlargement of the effective area of service, however, may be partly offset by the increase in the proportion of the rural population which used the doctor's services. Thus, even if the number of people per doctor remained about the same it does not necessarily mean that service would be adequate even with the improved transportation. Actually, however, the ratio of population to doctor has been increasing in rural areas.

It should not be overlooked that the factor of distance is important to

¹ The counties were ranked first, according to the number of persons per physician, No. 1 being the county showing the fewest. The fertility ratio was based on number of children under 5 years of age per 1000 women 20 to 44 years of age in the rural population and the counties were ranked from low to high. (This accounts for the positive coefficient, although it really indicates a negative or inverse relationship between the factors.) On income the counties were ranked from high to low.

² *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1937, p. 358.

the rural dweller. While the time required for a physician to get from his office to the home in cases of critical illness has been greatly reduced, the cost is probably higher today than it was in 1912.³ In addition to the regular fees, the farm family has to pay mileage on the doctor's automobile.

The dweller in the city, town, or village has an obvious advantage over the rural dweller in the matter of accessibility to the physician. The tendency towards concentration of medical men in the urban centers, where the possibility of higher income is more likely, raises the question as to whether some way should be found to subsidize the rural physician, at least to the extent of providing at public expense hospitals and clinics.

The Age of Physicians of Minnesota. Whether a doctor is old or young in years may or may not have significance as to the quality of medical care he is able to give. The older ones, who have made it a point to keep up with newer developments through post-graduate study, should have an advantage over the younger men because of their longer years in actual practice. On the other hand the quality of medical training in the schools and colleges is constantly improving, and the younger men have been the beneficiaries of this improvement. However, they do have the disadvantage of inexperience. This is particularly true in the rural areas, where oftentimes the young practitioner is dependent upon his own resourcefulness to deal with situations as they arise. In the urban areas he always has the opportunity to consult with older men and with specialists. The young doctor in the cities is often a member of a clinic where he is constantly in touch with more experienced practitioners.

The distribution of Minnesota physicians according to age groups indicates that those under thirty-one years of age in 1936 are found in larger proportions in rural areas and in the larger cities. The data for 1912, however, indicate a higher percentage in this age group in the small cities from 2500 to 10,000 than in either the very small rural towns or the cities of over 10,000. By 1936 the situation had changed materially. Comparison of 1912 and 1936 age distributions of physicians for places under 2500, 2500-10,000, and 10,000 and over, suggests the following trends:

- a. For the group under 31 years of age proportions increased for small and large centers, with a marked decline in the middle-sized towns
- b. Proportions in the middle age group (31-50) declined in all places at rates roughly in the inverse ratio to size of place.
- c. Those between 50 and 70 years of age increased for all three community sizes, also in inverse relation to size.
- d. Proportions of aged increased in all three community categories but most notably in the middle sized communities with rural areas next, and larger cities least.

³ O. C. Stine, "The Cost of Country Medical Service," *The Agricultural Situation*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., 22, No. 8, pp. 13-14. For the 25-year period 1910-1935, Stine estimates that fees for medical services to farmers have increased 16 percent for the country as a whole, although the increase for the West North Central states, which includes Minnesota, increased only 9 percent. It is not indicated whether "fees" include the mileage on the doctor's car.

TABLE 5. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PHYSICIAN IN AGE GROUPS BY SIZE OF PLACE FOR 1912 AND 1936

Age Group	Year and Size of Place					
	Under 2500		2500-10,000		10,000 and over	
	1912	1936	1912	1936	1912	1936
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 31	12.0	13.9	15.7	9.2	13.7	16.7
31-50	63.7	40.2	58.4	44.0	55.7	47.7
51-70	20.8	38.2	23.6	38.3	27.6	31.0
71 and over	2.3	7.4	1.7	8.5	2.4	4.6
Unknown	1.2	0.3	0.6	—	0.6	—

If we consider only the physicians located in centers around 2500 population, a comparison of the 1912 and 1936 distributions, on the basis of communities with (a) under 500, (b) 500-1000, and (c) 1000-2500; reveals the following general trends:

(a) Proportion of doctors under 31 have increased in all community categories but most notably in the places under 500.

(b) The proportions in middle age declined in all places but most notably in those under 500.

(c) Doctors from 50 to 70 increased proportionately in all places in inverse ratios to size of place.

(d) Aged physicians increased in proportions in all three community categories; with the most marked increase in the larger centers.

Generally the Minnesota physicians have "aged" during the period. In 1912, 72.6 percent were 50 years or younger, compared with only 60.6 percent in 1936. This trend is in line with that of the general population.

Mobility of Physicians. Since it is usually considered to be highly desirable that the patient-doctor relationship persist over a long period of time, it is important to note the extent to which doctors move from place to place. Data presented in preceding sections have indicated that considerable movement has taken place during the period under survey. This movement is reflected in the changing ratio of doctors to population in the various communities and in the changing age composition.

On the basis of information available it is possible to make more detailed analysis of physician mobility, by noticing the change of address of the

TABLE 6. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL PHYSICIANS BY SIZE OF RURAL PLACE 1912 AND 1936

Age Group	Size of Community and Year					
	Under 500		500-999		1000-2499	
	1912	1936	1912	1936	1912	1936
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 31	14.6	18.1	11.2	12.5	10.3	12.1
31-50	63.1	35.3	66.4	40.8	62.3	43.2
51-70	18.9	41.4	18.1	38.1	24.5	36.1
71 and over	1.7	5.2	3.4	8.2	2.1	8.3
Unknown	1.7	—	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.3

physician as indicated in the directory. Since we also know the size of town from or to which the physician moved, and his age, it is possible to relate the mobility data to these two factors.

In the course of the 25-year period Minnesota doctors made nearly 20,000 "in" and "out" moves, if we include the inter-state migration, and count death and retirement as a "move."⁴ The inter-state movement accounted for 41.4 percent of all moves. There was considerable variation in mobility for the three time periods 1912-18; 1921-29; 1931-36. Mobility was generally highest during the 1920's. Since the decade of the 1920's it has been much greater in the larger cities (10,000 or over) than it was in the period 1912-1918. On the other hand, for places 5000 to 10,000, mobility in the recent period was much less than that for pre-war years. For the other-sized communities there is slight difference.

Maslow,⁵ in his study of six rural Wisconsin counties used what he designated as a "turnover rate" (annual number of changes during period divided by average annual number of doctors) to indicate the change in location irrespective of whether the change was due to death, retirement or movement. Applying this formula to the Minnesota data we get the results shown in Table 7.

It will be noted at once that the rate is highest for the places under 500 population, for all three periods. There is little difference in the rate for the communities from 500 to 10,000, especially in the most recent period. For the places above 10,000 the rate is comparatively high and has not declined very much from the high rate which characterized the 1920's.

TABLE 7. AVERAGE ANNUAL TURNOVER RATE OF MINNESOTA PHYSICIAN BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY FOR VARIOUS PERIODS

Total Moves "in" and "out"	Periods and Turnover Rate		
	1912-18	1921-39	1931-36
Under 500	30.6	36.0	31.1
500-999	15.5	24.0	13.2
1000-2499	15.4	18.4	14.6
2500-4999	13.1	18.4	13.3
5000-9999	28.0	21.3	13.0
10,000 and over	11.9	19.1	18.1

Destination of Moves. During the period 1912 to 1936 there were 5310 moves originating in the state. The destination of over two-thirds, 67.6 percent of these moves were out-of-state. Moves originating in the large cities accounted for approximately 60 percent of all out-of-state moves. These came overwhelmingly from Rochester and Minneapolis, two im-

⁴ Death and retirement for purpose of this analysis are considered as "moves," in that the doctor-patient relationship is broken as a result.

⁵ Harold Maslow, "The Characteristics and Mobility of Rural Physicians: A Study of Six Wisconsin Counties," *Rural Sociology*, 3, No. 3, Sept. 1938, pp. 267-278.

portant training centers for physicians. The percentage of out-of-state movement varies directly with the size of the place of origin. That is, a smaller percentage of moves originating in places under 500 went over the state line than was true of those originating in larger places. It is also seen that there is a tendency for physicians from rural areas to move to other rural areas. This tendency is shown to vary directly with the size of place from which movement originated.

A move originating in a place under 500 is over three times as likely to terminate in a place of less than 2500 population than is one originating in cities 10,000 and over. If we consider only those moves with destinations within the state we find that over half, 54.2 percent, of the moves originating in small places under 500 end in places under 2500. These percentages decline progressively as the size of town increases to 5000-9999, when it rises again. That is, the places between 500 and 10,000 contributed the smallest percentage of moves to rural areas. In their case, the movement was predominantly towards the large cities. Conversely, urban physicians tend in even greater proportions to move to other urban areas.

If we narrow our groupings on both origin and destination to two, under 2500 and 2500 or over, and limit the analysis to the intra-state moves, we see that 48.1 percent of the moves from rural areas are received by other rural areas, while only 37.5 percent of moves from urban areas are in the direction of rural sections.

TABLE 8. INTRA-STATE MOVEMENTS TO AND FROM RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1912-1936

From	Total		To			
	No.	Pct.	Under 2500		Over 2500	
Total	1718	100.0	744	43.3	974	56.7
Under 2500	937	100.0	451	48.1	486	51.9
Over 2500	781	100.0	293	37.5	488	62.5

Inter-State Movements. Movement over state boundaries accounts for nearly half, 46.4 percent, of all moves *from* places, over one-third 36.2 percent, of moves *to* places, and 41.4 percent of all "in" and "out" moves. No attempt was made to determine the size of community from which the incoming migrants originated, nor the size of place to which the out-of-state migrant went. However, we made a tabulation according to size of place in Minnesota which received various portions of the incoming movement and the extent to which each size contributed to the outgoing movement.

It revealed that the Twin Cities and Rochester received over three-fifths of all moves originating outside the state. Part of this attraction is to be accounted for in the rise in importance as medical centers, both for training and treatment, of the Mayo Clinic at Rochester and the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis. Nearly all, 93.6 percent, moves to Rochester originated out-of-state.

Aside from the large centers, the most important destinations of out-of-state migrants were the places of less than 2500 population. In fact, this incoming movement accounted for 57.8 percent of all moves to places of under 500 during the period; 62.7 percent of moves to places 500-999; and 58.8 percent of moves to places 1000-2499.

In regard to the Minnesota points of origin of the out-of-state migration the pattern varies only slightly from the distribution of the incoming moves. Twin Cities and Rochester again furnish over half the total volume, although the proportion is smaller—and that of the smaller places correspondingly larger—when compared with the respective percentage distribution of incoming moves.

There are significantly larger numbers of doctors coming in from outside the state who settle in small places up to 5000 than there are leaving the small places for an out-of-state destination. In other words, smaller proportions of the volume of movement originating in places under 2500 move over state lines. It is the urban centers which originate most of the out-of-state migration. This suggests the conclusion that "urban and "rural" physicians have different patterns of migration. There would appear to be a tendency for urban physicians to move to other urban centers or out of the state, while rural doctors tend to restrict their moves to areas within the state, and in larger proportions move to other rural areas.

General Conclusions.

1. Over the 25-year period from 1912 to 1936 there has been a marked tendency towards "urbanization" of the physician of Minnesota. While for the states as a whole the population per physician has been steadily decreasing, that for rural areas has been constantly increasing.

2. As a group, the physicians have "grown older," but the age distribution differs by size of community. Large centers contain larger proportions in the younger ages, and are definitely superior to smaller centers in doctors of middle age. Proportion of doctors over 70 is particularly high in middle-sized towns and in rural areas. Large cities and small rural areas rank high in young doctors (under 31).

3. Instability of residence is highest in very small and very large centers, particularly the former. In spite of the general drift to cities, a large proportion of "rural" doctors move to other rural centers, while the converse is true for "urban" doctors. Mobility breaks the patient-doctor relationship in any case, which is generally considered to be undesirable.

A full appraisal of social organization for medical care can be made only after much additional study. The departure of physician from rural areas is undoubtedly related to economic factors. If medical care is to be regarded as of equal social importance to education, social action to make rural service more attractive to the professional personnel seems highly justified.

MARRIAGE ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON*

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Points of interest. Characteristics of the six percent of students who are married. Are they supported by parents? Are they more-than-average subject to marital conflicts? Probabilities of great increase in collegiate marriage. [Ed.]

DESPITE THE sociology professor's propensity to use the student body as an object of research, the problem of student marriages seems to have escaped his attention. The literature on the subject is scanty.¹ Letters to the registrars of Columbia University, the University of Chicago, the Universities of Minnesota, Utah and Washington revealed that even the most elementary evaluation of the registration records with regard to married students is lacking. We don't know who they are, how they support themselves and what careers they enter upon, not to speak of the success of these marriages with regard to internal harmony, curricular achievements and social adjustment to the campus environment. The practical importance of these questions for the student adviser and for the university administration need not be stressed.

Student marriages were unknown at the turn of the century. Today they are accepted as a matter of course. Sometime during the first World War the president of the University of Washington gave a reception for the first married couple on the campus, not to celebrate the event but to avoid misunderstandings which might arise from such an unusual relationship between two university students. Since then, student marriages have inconspicuously filtered into the campus environment.

As a first orientation in this field, we give a brief account of the registration records of married students at the State University of Washington, fall of 1941. This survey is intensified by 60 case studies on student mar-

* The author is indebted for helpful cooperation to the registrar of the University of Washington, Irving Hoff and to the Assistant to the Dean of Arts and Sciences, Robert O'Brien. Jack Conway cooperated in the definition of the problem and in planning the project.

¹ Systematic research in this field seems to be entirely lacking. Magazine articles on various aspects of the problem carry strong opinions of their authors either in favor or against student marriages. They are mainly based on uncontrolled experience. Cp: Genevieve Parkhurst, "Shall Marriage Be Subsidized?" *Harper's Magazine*, Nov. 1937; Ray Lyman Wilbur, "Human Hopes," *Vital Speeches*, Vol. 5, 1939; Paul Popenoe, "Should College Students Marry?", *Parents Magazine*, Vol. 13, 1934; "Academic Matrimony," *Living Age*, Jan., 1936; "Why the Student Marries," *Educational Forum*, Jan., 1937; "Student Loans and Marriage," *Journal of American Association of University Women*, Jan., 1932; "Married Students," *North American Review*, Nov., 1932; "College Girls and Marriage," *Scribner's*, April 1931; "Marriages Made in College," *Good Housekeeping*, April 1931. Various opinions are quoted in: Katherine W. Taylor, *Do Adolescents Need Parents?*, New York, 1938, p. 331.

MARRIAGE ON THE CAMPUS

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TABLE 1. UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON MARRIED AND SINGLE STUDENTS
AUTUMN QUARTER 1941

COLLEGE	NM	FRESHMEN		SOPHOMORES		JUNIORS		SENIORS		SPECIALS		GRADS.		TOTAL		NOT INDIC. TOTAL
		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
Arts and Sciences	NM	973	1061	607	742	467	620	396	590	9	36	191	211	2643	3260	6412
Economics and Business	Ma	4	—	6	2	11	3	8	2	1	1	5	—	35	8	43
	NM	316	76	243	23	202	29	157	18	1	1	16	6	935	153	1088
Education	Ma	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	20	3	26	6	32
	NM	—	—	2	2	2	17	11	13	—	—	9	9	24	41	65
Engineering	Ma	8	—	3	—	11	—	27	1	—	—	1	—	50	1	51
	NM	567	4	261	2	188	—	202	—	—	—	13	—	1231	6	1237
Forestry	Ma	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
	NM	37	1	26	—	31	—	38	—	—	—	4	—	136	1	137
Law	Ma	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	13	1	21	1	22
	NM	—	—	—	—	10	2	57	1	1	—	75	7	143	10	153
Mines	Ma	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
	NM	16	—	13	—	13	—	22	—	—	—	2	—	66	—	66
Pharmacy	Ma	—	—	2	—	1	1	4	1	1	—	5	—	13	2	15
	NM	45	19	34	4	26	8	38	10	—	1	7	2	150	44	194
Totals	Ma	29	28	29	22	56	26	143	33	16	17	143	52	416	178	545
	NM	1954	1161	1186	773	939	676	871	632	11	38	317	235	5278	3515	8793
		1983	1189	1215	795	995	702	1014	665	27	55	460	287	5594	3693	9387

Ma = Married. NM = Non-married. M = Men. W = Women. B = Both sexes.

riages which were collected at the same university during the spring of 1941. Although conditions are apt to vary considerably at different institutions the large state university together with the city college may be assumed to have developed this type of marriage most abundantly and in its most characteristic features.

The time chosen covers the last instance of pre-war conditions. The material should be of interest with the period of post-war reconstruction in

TABLE 2. YEAR OF ENROLLMENT IN PERCENT

Year	All Students			Married Students		
	M.	W.	Both	M.	W.	Both
Freshman	35	32	32	7	16	10
Sophomore	21	22	21	7	12	8
Junior	17	19	18	14	15	14
Senior	18	18	18	34	18	30
Specials	1	1	1	4	10	5
Graduate	8	8	8	34	29	33

view when we shall have to expect a considerable numerical increase of the phenomenon. Soldiers will appear on the campus at a relatively advanced age, less willing than ever before to postpone marriage to the end of their university studies. We need to prepare an adequate place for them in the campus environment.

I. Statistical Data from Registration. In the fall of 1941, the total enrollment at the State University of Washington in Seattle amounted to 9387 students. Of these 545, or 5.8 percent, registered as married students. Less than one-third of these married students were women (32.7 percent), while the share of women in the general student body amounted to 39.3 percent. In comparison to the general student body, the distribution of these married students among various categories is stated in the following tables of crude percentages.

One-third of the married students are doing graduate work as against 8 percent of graduate students in the total enrollment. Close to 30 percent are seniors. The displacement in the direction of more advanced studies is somewhat less pronounced for married women.

Similarly the more advanced age groups are more strongly represented

TABLE 3. AGE DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENT

Age	All Students			Married Students		
	M.	W.	Both	M.	W.	Both
-19	32	41	36	2	5	3
20-24	53	45	50	33	33	33
25-29	7	5	6	35	19	30
30-34	2	2	2	15	14	14
35-39	1	2	1	6	14	9
40-	1	2	1	6	14	9
Unindicated	4	4	4	4	7	5

among the married students. Eighty-six percent of the students in general are under 25 years, while only 36 percent of the married students are under this age. However, the majority of the married students are in the twenties (63 percent) and only 15 percent exceed the age of 35.

Certain characteristics are discernible in the social background of the married students. At registration, the student indicates his father's occupation. In Table 4 these data are classified according to a limited number of occupational categories. About 18 percent of the married students' fathers are classified as "business" and 16 percent belong to the professional group; in the general student body, the respective percentages are 40 and 16. The greater percentage of retired fathers among the married students may be due to the higher age of the latter group. 36 per cent of the married students do not indicate their fathers' occupation at all (against only 9 percent of

TABLE 4. OCCUPATION OF PARENTS IN PERCENT

	All Students*	Married Students	Married Students	
	Total	Total	Men	Women
Business	40	18	19	16
Professional	16	16	16	17
Government	6	3	2	4
Agriculture	5	5	6	4
Unskilled	2	2	2	2
Skilled	13	9	11	6
Retired	3	6	7	3
Housewives	6	4	4	4
Deceased	0	1	1	1
Unindicated	9	36	32	43

* Separate figures for Men and Women were not available for the general student body.

students in general). The parent's death or the recognition of the fact that the social status of the married student has lost dependence upon parental occupation, shifting toward achievements of husband or wife, may account for the negligence. Sex differences with regard to occupational background are not without interest. Business men are particularly infrequent among the fathers of female married students.

Also with regard to church preference, non-affiliation and lack of reporting combined are more prevalent among the married students than among the general student body (43 percent against 37 percent). A more independent attitude among the married students is apparent. Also interesting is the fact that the large and more conventional church groups of the Northwest, such as Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholics, are decidedly less well represented among the married students than in the general student body. Some smaller sects and church groups show the reverse relationship.

Economically, the married students are more independent than the rest of the students. This, however, is true mainly for married men, while the

distribution of married women as to self support shows only minor deviations from that of female students in general. Much sharper are the differences between male married students and the whole male group. 85 percent of the married males are wholly self-supporting, which is true for only one-third of male students in general. The male married student carries with few exceptions the burden of financial self-support.

TABLE 5. CHURCH PREFERENCE IN PERCENT IN ORDER OF NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE

Church	All Students	Married Students
No affiliation or not indicated	37	43
Presbyterian	11	6
Catholic	8	4
Methodist	8	6
Protestant, unspecified	7	6
Episcopal	7	4
Lutheran	4	3
Congregational	4	2
Small groups		
Latter Day Saints, Mennonites, Mormons, etc.	0.42	1.82
Quakers	0.16	0.73
Agnostics	0.06	0.18

Of the various colleges on the campus of the University of Washington, the College of Arts and Science, the College of Education and the Law School attract more than a proportionate share of married students; the opposite is true for the College of Economics and Business and for the Engineering College.

The distribution of the married students among various major subjects in the Arts and Science College reveals differences from the distribution of students in general. The married students are widely spread, but they show

TABLE 6. SELF-SUPPORT IN PERCENT

	All Students			Married Students		
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
Non-supporting	19	61	36	7	65	26
Partially Supporting	47	26	39	8	19	11
Wholly supporting	34	13	25	85	16	63

a somewhat higher participation in the humanities and in certain fields of the social sciences (social work and sociology) than in the sciences. As far as the men are concerned, history attracts more married students than any other field among the men, with social work as a close second. Married women are disproportionately attracted by art, history, music, and sociology.

Tentative interpretation of registration data. The married student tends to be an advanced student; this is particularly true for the men. The age distribution indicates that he marries during a career of prolonged or possibly

delayed studies. A minority only may be assumed to have returned to the university after starting out in their occupational career or having begun to raise a family.

The social background of the married student—as far as indicated—favors the professional group while “business” is definitely much less represented than in the general student body. This tendency is particularly marked among married women. We may tentatively assume that a more rigid adherence to conventional standards in the business group, according

TABLE 7. COLLEGES IN PERCENT

College	All Students			Married Students		
	M.	W.	Both	M.	W.	Both
Arts and Sciences	50	93	67	59	90	69
Economics and Business	17	5	12	9	4	8
Education	1	1	1	7	3	6
Engineering	23	—	14	14	1	9
Forestry	2	—	1	1	—	1
Law	3	—	2	6	1	4
Mines	1	—	1	1	—	—
Pharmacy	3	1	2	3	1	3

to which marriage occurs at the end of the university studies, and a somewhat more liberal attitude among professional men helps to produce the difference. Lower age and a higher degree of emotional dependence upon parental approval may account for the fact that this divergence is even more pronounced for the married women. Similarly, we find that the more conventionalized church affiliations have a lower percentage of married students, who are more frequent in small independent sects and particularly among those who do not mention any denomination.

With few exceptions, the men among our married students assume the duty of self-support and—we may surmise—even the support of their wives. Student marriages are overwhelmingly self-supporting and not dependent upon parental assistance. The adherence to the conventional pattern, in this respect, is furthermore stressed by the fact that married women do not contribute noticeably more to their support than female students in general.

II. Data from Personal Reports. Our statistical data have somehow located the married student with regard to background, ambitions, age, self-support, etc. To gain a closer understanding of the social situation involved, documentary data have been obtained. The questionnaire method was rejected. It can be used only when the sociologist is fairly familiar with his subject and able to define his problem in more specific terms. The married students of the University of Washington were asked to contribute a free write-up of their problems, economic, social and emotional. A guide for the report tried to anticipate on four mimeographed pages all problems which the married student might possibly have to face.

About 300 students were reached by the survey; 62 of these cooperated by sending in their reports. In addition, 20 elaborate case studies were obtained as term-papers in courses on "The Sociology of the Family." The return is not satisfactory for quantitative generalizations. We may assume that failures and crises in the development of student marriages are understated in our survey material. However, the main recurring patterns seem to stand out clearly enough. The material permits us to give a systematic description of the environmental problems involved.

There are two distinctly different types of married students on the university campus: (1) the young couple that meets at student age and marries with the intention to finish university studies and the preparation for a professional career in joint cooperation; (2) the married woman who resumes her education after years of married life, possibly having raised her children to school-age, intending to spend her spare time in an interesting and useful manner, planning for a career of her own which is also often considered as "insurance" against economic emergency. Both types are of interest to the sociologist in different ways.

A. The young married couple on the campus. Our solicitous remarks in the "Guide to Report for Married Students" were selected under the influence of an hypothesis which has been partly disproven. Our attention was concentrated upon the fact that husband and wife in a student marriage are called upon to play a social role which deviates from husband-wife relationships in non-student marriages of comparable social status. We expected adjustment difficulties and outright crises around the clash of marriage roles. More specifically, we assumed that a considerable degree of equalitarian cooperation required in the student marriage would cause friction where childhood experiences might guide expectations along the lines of a more authoritarian pattern. Here we were wrong. In rare cases only is the awareness lacking that special obligations and sacrifices have to be shouldered by the married student.²

Undeniably, student marriages involve particular strain. The situation is not pre-defined by convention. On the other hand, the preoccupation with economic and educational difficulties has a distracting or mitigating effect upon potential incompatibilities. We have no reason to assume that failures are more frequent in student than in non-student marriages. In case of success, cooperation and companionship between the two partners establishes a particularly close-knit relationship.

Economic strain is unavoidable. In a few exceptional cases only, parental

² To be sure, the years of study and preparation might be looked upon as a temporary situation and it is well warranted to look onward to the process of "settling-down" at the end of the university studies as a critical period of readjustment. Will husband and wife, at that stage, agree upon the division of roles? Is the wife to enter upon a career of her own or is she going to accept without frustration the role of the housewife of a professional man? The answer to this question lies beyond the scope of the available material.

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support of the husband is continued after marriage. The norm that a man should not marry before he is able to renounce financial support by his parents is the cause of considerable suffering and hardship. Group standards, however, are well "internalized" by the student himself who feels it to be his duty to support his wife in spite of economic difficulties and possibly the delay of university studies. He may accept economic contributions from his wife or he may even be entirely dependent upon her for the whole duration of his university studies. But he will accept parental support as a partial and temporary subsidy only. In several cases student marriages have been kept secret in order to postpone the unavoidable withdrawal of parental funds. Not in any instance has resentment been voiced against this transfer of economic obligations at the time of marriage. Marriage is entered upon only by those who are willing to accept the challenge of "working their way through" under one or the other cooperative arrangement. Most of the married students have previous experience of gainful employment.

✓ University studies and the necessity of working for a living loads a double burden of activities upon the married student couple. Housekeeping activities are added to the duties. Thus, the student household is dependent upon flexible adjustments to continuous changes in the everyday routine. Hours for work, study and rest very seldom coincide for the two partners. Meal-times are not regular. Makeshift arrangements are obligatory. Close mutual understanding is a prerequisite for the planning and replanning required in a situation that may change from day to day and, to be sure, from school-term to school-term. Jobs, studies and housework have to be matched and re-matched to fit into the shifting pattern of distribution of labor between husband and wife.

Several arrangements contribute to make the strain of a student marriage tolerable.

1. Household routine is stripped of pretensions and subordinated to strictly utilitarian principles.

2. Cooperation on an equalitarian basis is common in the student marriage. Companionship may compensate for the exhausting burden of work. Satisfaction is gained also from the added responsibilities as such. Feelings of inferiority are not infrequent in the general student body and the socially frustrated student seems to be even more frequent among the married students. Both husband and wife may gain the feeling of personality rehabilitation in an equalitarian arrangement of marriage duties. Particularly the wife is apt to derive satisfaction from her unusual status in the married group; the husband takes pride in his status as "head of the family."

3. The emphasis on either studies or remunerative activities may be distributed between husband and wife in such a manner as to ease somewhat the double burden of obligations. The wife may work while the husband finishes his studies or vice versa. There may be repeated changes in the ar-

rangement, each partner alternatively devoting himself to study or remunerative activity.

4. There is a tendency to postpone the termination of studies in order to benefit the intermediary standard of living. With an attitude of self-reliance based upon economic independence, many married couples "settle down" to their university studies rather than hurrying forward to the commencement day and their final diploma. Attitudes, in this respect, are somewhat divergent. But the intention to make the best and the most—in whatever time it may take—of their years on the university campus, is very often conspicuous.

Socially, the married student finds himself in a unique situation. Recreation and leisure time activities, on the university campus, center around courtship between the two sexes. Participation presupposes that the student be unattached, possibly going steady, possibly engaged to be married but not yet quite "out of circulation." The folkways of dating and dancing are built around the tension of playful mate selection. The married student remains an uninterested outsider. On the other hand, married student couples have no access to the "young married set" in either the professional or business world. They have not yet "arrived." They feel insecure, are unacquainted and have neither time nor money to live up to regular social obligations. Caught between these two well established patterns the married student has to arrange his social life on a more or less individual basis.

The variety of social patterns ranges from almost complete isolation to a quasi-bohemian humdrum which makes the apartment of the married student the central meeting place for spontaneous gang formations particularly among non-fraternity and non-sorority students. Needless to say, the social life of the married student is of an extremely informal nature. Recreational activities are limited in expense and time spent. Married students may associate entirely with unmarried friends. At more advanced age as well as with the advancement of their studies and particularly after the birth of their first child they start to select friends who struggle with similar difficulties in their everyday life. These latter students—a small section of the married students only—are apt to become group conscious and possibly even to organize. At the University of Washington there exists a "Dames' Club" the membership of which is open to all wives of undergraduate or graduate students.

Why—under such extraordinary circumstances—does the university student marry at all? We may answer the question in terms of rationalization, motivation or in terms of more general background factors.

Few attempts are made to justify marriage by rationalizations without bearing upon the actually relevant set of causative circumstances. It is often mentioned that studies have become more purposeful since marriage or that even grades have improved due to the lack of courtship distractions. But

scarcely ever is this made a central issue in the decision to marry. Reference is made to time lost and to the inconvenience involved in meeting the future husband or wife on the campus, in the library or in eating places. In this indirect manner, marriage is precipitated by the efficiency of the arrangement rather than caused by it. Some students mention that it is cheaper to live together than alone, but they do not try to explain their marriage on these grounds. In the discussion of reasons for marriage, no reference is made to the argument that early marriage and early child-bearing in the educated section of society is desirable because of the population problem.

In the motivation of early marriage a much wider range of individual attitudes is displayed. We find the couple interlocked in the competitive struggle of courtship in the campus environment. They want to be sure of each other, facing frankly the risk of ruptures in the emotional attachment, especially if they have long years of study ahead.

Marriage with such motivation entails obviously a great deal of hazard. There are repetitions of the following situation. A particularly glamorous girl and a popular boy find each other in the social life of the campus. They get attention from the very fact that they are "going steady." The union as such is glamorized. The couple then marries without anticipating the effect of marriage upon their social life. Trying to hold the limelight of attention by marrying, they find themselves excluded from the fraternity and sorority environment by this very step. Some of the saddest cases of disappointment in marriage by two otherwise efficient and popular young people fall into this category.

Of a similar order is the case—written up by a befriended student—in which a young coed "makes" an unsuspecting graduate student and teaching fellow, driven by ambition and lack of affection in her home environment, only to find out after marriage that she has not been ready to assume the obligations of a housewife even in the unpretentious environment of a student marriage.

In a few cases the two students marry because of urgent desires for sexual experience which—on account of a strictly puritan background—they do not dare to gratify outside marriage. The two cases of secret marriages that have come to our attention are of this nature, one of them complicated by pregnancy and abortion.

In most cases, however, the motivation for the student marriage is close companionship and unprecedented mutual understanding, sharing of interests and all this reinforced by physical attraction. The courtship period may be short or long. It may involve a long period of mutual idealization, common experiences in high school and at different universities plus intimate acquaintance between the young man and his parents in law. Then, on the other hand, marriage may be the outcome of a short and intense romance. The time of acquaintance before marriage does not seem nearly as impor-

tant for success as the individual attitudes and the expectations that are carried into the marriage relationship.

The background factors recorded in our statistical material are not very revealing. Occupationally and with regard to church affiliation, the categories relating to a more conventional attitude were less represented among the married students than within the general student body. The documentary material permits a tentative statement as to the type of relationship that existed between the student and his parents and siblings previous to marriage.

With regard to the husband, one thing stands out very clearly: the ties between the student and his family are severed in a great majority of cases; most often this lack of contact is based on wilful separation and possibly the outcome of dissension in the family group. Unfortunately, no control group is available to furnish comparable material. But the unexpected numerical prevalence of the given pattern is convincing.

In detail, various circumstances lead to similar results. Many of the parents are divorced. In other cases the incompatibility of the parents has induced their son to leave home, sometimes at a very early age. There are indications of strong ambivalent father-son relationships. In many cases, the husband's home situation is given in pale colors only, much in contrast to that of the wife. His parents reside at a far distance from the present residence. Most husbands are independent in their decisions as well as they are economically self-reliant already before marriage. Interference is restricted to a few cases, in which the husband comes from an upper-middle or upper class background, has yet never made his own living and possibly expects parental support in the future.

Somewhat different is the constellation where the husband, at home, has been induced by circumstances or inclination to play a paternal role. The father may have died some time ago, leaving the oldest son with the obligation of caring for mother and younger siblings. In some cases, the protective attitude toward a younger sister is clearly carried over into the marriage relationship.

The home background of the wife is more diffuse, but strong desire for affection and recognition seem often to have been fostered by circumstances. Again, she may have grown up as the child of a divorcee; she may have been reared in close contact with other siblings who overshadowed her by a more attractive appearance, by efficiency or intelligence or who for indefinite reasons were preferred by their parents. Feelings of inferiority are conspicuous, or a rather unassuming attitude suddenly bursts out into action, in the form of marriage at an unusually early age. After marriage the attitude of the wife toward her own family takes a very different course from that of the husband. The relations with her parents are frequently of a very

intimate nature. She sees them often and the married couple may sometimes even live at home with her mother.

The constellation, then, of background factors and personality traits in the student marriage tends to minimize the risk of acute crises in the husband-wife relationship. Divorce and separation are rare exceptions. There are dramatic failures when the glamour girl collapses in an early marriage based upon illusions and entered upon mainly as an attention-getting device. There are unhappy student couples who got entangled with each other in the competitive struggle of campus courtships, who have married "to be sure of each other" and with little consideration of the economic burden and the need for sacrifices entailed in a student marriage. But these cases make up only a small minority of the student marriages. More than that, the situation in these marriages and their genesis are diametrically opposed to the set-up in the more prevalent type of student marriage.³

In the student marriage the need for planning and purposeful action with regard to economic emergencies seems to establish a pattern of cooperation which is applied also to other spheres of husband-wife relationship. The problem of sexual adjustment is in most cases a legitimate object of discussion between the married partners. "In-law-troubles" are mitigated by the tendency to understand and "talk over" the emotional tie-ups involved. The need for mutual sacrifices under the triple burden of studies, remunerative work and household duties is so obvious that the extremely egocentric individual is found only very seldom in this group. The preparedness for cooperation paves the way toward mutual adjustment. The very nature of the student marriage guarantees that a conscious effort is made to make the arrangement "work."

Problems and conflicts in the student marriage—if we may say so—tend to be externalized. The two partners exhaust their energy in work that has to be done to keep out of economic misery and to avoid stagnation in their educational progress. Internal difficulties are overcome in a more or less subconscious appeasement in the face of outside strain.

B. The married woman on the campus. Apart from the married student couple, we are confronted on the campus with married people who take up or try to finish their university studies at a relatively advanced age. They are predominantly women, most of them having reared their children to about school age. There are men also who return to school in order to get an advancement in their professional career. There are also younger married women, mainly from the upper middle classes, whose husband has finished his studies or is a business man. They have not yet given birth to a child

³ The need for type construction in the analysis of our material is obvious. In a description of average conditions the picture of significant configurations would be obscured rather than clarified.

and, with ample leisure time at hand, they come to the campus to advance their educational level. The mother at middle age, however, is a more frequent and a more distinct type deserving special consideration.

To the sociologist of the family, the married woman on the campus represents a possible solution to the leisure time problem arising in the modern American family. In their reports, these students complain about the dullness of a household routine which is particularly oppressing once the children have started to spend half or more of their day time at school. Attempts to occupy themselves in a more traditional manner have failed. They want to continue their education which in many cases has been interrupted by marriage.

It is not only the entertainment value of university studies which attracts these adults to the campus environment. Most of them have plans to start out on a professional career of their own, or they consider their preparation for a degree or a diploma as an insurance in case of an economic emergency. They want to prepare themselves for the necessity of making a living. The wife refers generally to the "uncertainty of our times" (the reports were handed in at the end of spring 1941).

There may be a limited number of potential divorcées in this group who prepare themselves for economic independence (divorced persons, of course, do not register as "married" and are, therefore, not contained in our material). In general, however, relations between husband, wife and children are particularly well integrated in these families. Willingness to cooperate in the efficient arrangement of a "streamlined" household is indispensable to free the housewife for certain hours of the day from her home duties. Consequently, most student reports which fall into this category reflect the gratitude of the housewife toward husband and children. These latter learn to take care of themselves and develop an attitude of self-reliance which is reported to affect their personality favorably. The husband sacrifices the comfort which is obtainable only from a wife who concentrates upon the functions of personal service. He may help in the supervision of children or at other minor household tasks. He never goes to the extent of preparing the dinner. In some cases, a mother or mother in law resides in the family and takes over a large part of the household responsibilities.

Interesting is the educational and marriage history in this category of married students. We have been surprised by the fact that their past often reveals student marriages of the above mentioned type. The wife may have abandoned her studies for the sake of marriage and resumes them now to get her degree after the interval which was necessary to raise her children to school-age. In other cases, the husband worked his way gradually only into a professional career, leaving the campus repeatedly for remunerative work to support his family. The university studies of the wife represent, then, sometimes only the last phase of a persistent endeavor to raise the educa-

tional level and the income of the family by a continuous progress toward more advanced degrees. An established pattern of close cooperation in these families facilitates the household arrangement required to permit the mother of the family to resume her university studies. There is a considerable number of teachers among the husbands of these women students.

The future. We expect, for the duration of the war, a considerable increase of married women on the campus who continue their education while their husbands are on duty and prepare for an occupational career in case their husbands should die in battle. After the war we shall have to expect on the campus a flow of men students who have had to interrupt their university training but got married before they left for the front. We shall have to accommodate many of those young people who get married at an early age, today, on the basis of earnings in defense industries. Industrial change may leave them without work and not a few will be driven by ambition—and possibly able on the basis of war time savings—to prepare for a professional career. We venture to predict that an increasing number of married women will find their way to the university campus in the future.

It is warranted to prepare for the invasion. The sincerity of the married students makes them a desirable addition to the student body. Economically, the married student stands on his own feet, but may be dependent upon possibilities to "work his way through college." Socially, his requirements are limited, but he should be given opportunities to organize and assemble on the campus and the use of recreational facilities should be thrown open to the married partner not enrolled at the university.

The married student does not want to be pampered. In most cases, he or she is a particularly self-reliant personality. But he can be made more comfortable on the campus. Universities and the general student body are apt to gain by including this new campus figure more consciously into curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Cooperative efforts may assist the individual couple with regard to the frequent economic crises that develop in a situation threatened by many insecurities. Household and housing problems may be solved more easily on a group than on an individual basis for the particular requirements of the married student. For all this, however, it is first of all necessary that the married student recognize himself as one of a group, a distinct type in the campus environment.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING ATTITUDE TOWARD JEWS

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Points of interest. Some statistically significant correlations of anti-Semitism with sex, education, region, economic status, and presumable contacts with Jews, etc. (Study should be followed up with consideration of the role of group cultures in producing these correlations.) [Ed.]

I. PROBLEM AND METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION

PROBLEM. The problem of this investigation is that of testing the influence of certain factors on the attitude of non-Jewish college students toward Jews in the college situation. The factors selected for test include: (1) sex, (2) age, (3) religious affiliation, (4) course of study, (5) regional residence, (6) size of home community, (7) occupation of parents, (8) income of parents, (9) frequency of contact, and (10) intimacy of contact.

In addition to contributing to knowledge regarding a specific attitude in a specific inter-group situation it is hoped that the investigation contributes something to the understanding of inter-group attitudes generally. All of the factors listed above have been tested for their influence on attitude in other inter-group relations (relations between races, nationalities, classes, etc.). Certain hypotheses have been offered as to the influence of such factors as these on inter-group attitudes. The findings herein reported may be compared with those of other investigators and may be taken as representing one more test of the hypotheses formulated up to now.

Method. The method followed in this investigation involved: (1) the construction of a test or scale to measure the attitude of non-Jewish college students toward Jews in the college situation; (2) the administration of the test to a number of college subjects varying with respect to the factors under test; (3) the accumulation of information concerning the factors selected for test by means of a personal data schedule; and (4) the employment of certain standard statistical operations on the data thus obtained to determine the degree of association between the selected factors and the attitude of the subjects as measured by the test.

The test used in this investigation was of the sort used so successfully by Jones,¹ Cuber,² and others. It consisted of twelve "stories," brief accounts of real-life³ situations in which some action is taken or some attitude is ex-

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. D. E. V. Henderson for valuable assistance in many phases of this investigation.

¹ A. W. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1941.

² J. F. Cuber, & B. Pell, "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments Relating to the Family," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 1941, 47, 12-23.

³ All of the stories describe actual experiences known to the investigator.

pressed by non-Jews toward Jewish students or teachers. After each story appeared a question asking the subject whether he approves or disapproves of the action or expression of attitude described. After each question provision was made for the subject to indicate his degree of approval or disapproval on a five point scale (Strongly approve, Approve, Undecided, Disapprove, Strongly disapprove).⁴ These responses were weighted from 1 to 5; in each case 1 was the weight given to the response indicating most unfavorable attitude, 5 the weight given to the response indicating most favorable attitude, and 3 the weight given to the response indicating neutral attitude. The subject's attitude toward Jews was measured by the sum of his responses to the twelve stories (lowest possible score—representing most unfavorable attitude—is 12; highest possible score—representing most favorable attitude—is 60). The stories used in the test were as follows:

I. Although he was strongly recommended by his college teachers, Irving Pindar was rejected by the medical schools to which he applied for admittance. Since other students with poorer college records and less strongly recommended than he were accepted by the same schools to which he applied, it was plain that the reason for Irving's rejection was the fact that he was Jewish.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the action of the medical schools with regard to Irving's application for admittance?

II. When Dr. Harry Katz was appointed as teacher of chemistry in a small mid-western college, four members of the board of trustees protested. They asserted that the relations between teacher and student in a small college are close and intimate, and they did not want the students associating in such ways with a Jew. The president of the college, however, fought against their objection on the ground that Dr. Katz was an able teacher and well qualified for the position, and he was successful in having the appointment confirmed.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the action of the president?

III. Sylvia Morton hadn't been at the University a month before Bob Jenks asked her for a date. Bob knew that Sylvia was Jewish; he also knew that she was one of the prettiest and most attractive girls in her class. All during their freshman year Bob took Sylvia to movies, dances, games, parties, etc.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Bob having dates with Sylvia?

IV. Fraternity Row at one of the eastern Universities is lined with large and expensive houses. When the local chapter of a Jewish national social fraternity attempted to buy a lot in order to build a house on the Row, the members of the fraternities already there petitioned the authorities of the University not to sell the land to the Jewish fraternity.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the action of the fraternities?

V For years ——— College, a privately endowed college in New England, had followed the policy of admitting Jewish students in numbers no greater than 8 percent of the freshman class. When a new president took office he dropped this policy and proposed to admit Jews on the same basis as other students.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the action of the new president?

⁴ All tests were administered in the classroom. Responses were kept anonymous.

VI. When Jack Henderson proposed Leon Teller for membership in the national social fraternity of which Jack was a member, his proposal met with opposition by other members. Their objection to Leon was based on the fact that he was Jewish. Jack pleaded with his fraternity brothers to realize that Leon was a bright, charming and popular boy. He argued that the fact that Leon was a Jew should not influence their decision.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Jack's action?

VII. Jim Todd was the last member of the squad to vote in the election of captain for next year's football team. It so happened that when it came his turn to vote there was a deadlock between White and Levine, the two outstanding guards on the team. Jim voted for White. He later explained that he did so because "it just wouldn't do to have a Jew for football captain."

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Jim's attitude?

VIII. The Cosmos Club at ——— University is composed of some twenty or so of the graduate students in the social sciences. Once a month they have an informal dinner meeting at which a paper on some subject of general interest is read and discussed. When Henry Berstein, a brilliant student in economics, was proposed for membership, one of the members objected, saying, "Henry is all right, but once we start letting Jews in we'll be overrun with them."

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the attitude expressed by this member?

IX. Harry Myers and Mary Babcock have been going together for six years—ever since they were in college together. Harry is Jewish, Mary is not. Although her friends urge her to break off the relationship, Mary has decided that she loves Harry and intends to marry him.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Mary's decision?

X. One of the large state universities had a vacancy in its English department. After a careful consideration of the qualifications of all the applicants for the position, the head of the English department and the dean of the college agreed that Dr. Harold Bowman was by far the best qualified for the job. An interview with Dr. Bowman confirmed them in their judgment. He was pleasant, attractive in manner, and obviously competent in his field. However, when they learned that Dr. Bowman was Jewish they decided not to appoint him to the position.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the decision made in this case?

XI. Tom Jackson, in his freshman year at a southern state university, found himself assigned to a room in the dormitory with Philip Klein, a Jewish boy. Tom's friends urged him to get the university authorities to give him another room. Tom, however, said that he found Philip a very pleasant and cooperative roommate and refused to ask for any change.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Tom's action?

XII. In his senior year Bill Smith had to take a course in economic history. There were two sections of the course offered: one taught by Prof. Jones, the other by Prof. Lovenstein. Bill chose Prof. Jones' section and justified his choice to his advisor by saying, "I don't think you ought to study economics under a Jew. They're all communists or something, and you're liable to get the wrong ideas."

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of Bill's attitude in this case?

Reliability. The reliability of the test described above was calculated by the split-half method.⁵ Coefficients of .87, .84, .81, and .88, after correction for double length, were obtained for the four groups of subjects to whom the test was administered (see below).

Validity. The validity of the test (that it measures attitude of non-Jewish college students toward Jews, which is what it purports to measure) is indicated by two measures obtained. First, it would be expected that if the test measures attitude toward Jews, Jewish subjects should score higher (indicating more favorable attitude) than non-Jewish subjects. The mean score of 32 Jewish college students on the test is 54.44.⁶ This is 9.31 scale steps higher than the mean score of the 502 non-Jewish subjects of the investigation, which is 45.13. The difference between these two means is 10.79 times its standard error, and is therefore not attributable to chance.

Secondly, each subject was asked to place a mark on a nine point scale, ranging from most friendly and favorable attitude to most unfriendly and unfavorable attitude, that would represent his own estimate of his attitude toward Jews. When these estimates were correlated with the test scores of the 502 subjects, a coefficient of .66 was obtained. Taken together these two measures seem to provide a fair basis for assuming that the test is valid.

Subjects. The test was administered to four groups of non-Jewish college and university students, 502 Ss in all. Group A consists of 99 girls from a small Southern college for women; Group B of 53 Ss (all but 7 of whom are males) from a medium-sized Southern state college specializing in agricultural and mechanical courses; Group C of 91 Ss (35 males and 56 females) from a small Northern college; and Group D of 259 Ss (151 males and 108 females) from a large and fairly cosmopolitan Southern state university. The first three groups (A, B, and C) are closely similar so far as age, size of home community, occupation and income of parents, and number of intimate Jewish friends claimed are concerned. All but three of the subjects in Groups A and B are from the South; all of the subjects in Group C are from the North. Group D subjects cover a wider range with respect to the factors herein considered (although the averages are about the same), and include both Northern and Southern subjects. (See Table 7, below, for a tabulation of the scores of each of these groups.)

II. FINDINGS

Sex. Previous investigations of inter-group attitudes offer considerable evidence that sex is a factor influencing such attitudes. However, the evi-

⁵ Cf. J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, pp. 412, 418-420, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.

⁶ The scores for the Jewish subjects would have been even higher but for the inclusion of Stories III and IX in the test. More than half of the Jewish subjects scored low on these two items. Obviously, the low scores for these subjects on these items indicates the endogamous tendency of some Jews rather than an attitude of disapproval toward Jews.

dence is somewhat ambiguous. Some investigators report that males are more friendly and favorably disposed toward other racial and cultural groups; some that females show more tolerant inter-group attitudes; and some find no significant differences between the sexes. In the present investigation a sex difference was found: the female Ss were found to be significantly more friendly and favorable in attitude toward Jews (as that attitude is measured by the instrument used) than the males. Table 1 shows the sex differences in the total sample, in Groups C and D where there are enough Ss of both sexes to permit comparison, and compares the scores of the males in Group B (46 of the 53 Ss from this group are male) with the scores of the female Ss in Group A (all Ss are female).

TABLE 1. ATTITUDE SCORES BY SEX

Group	Means		Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
	Male	Female		
All Subjects	43.88 (232)*	46.59 (270)	2.61	3.06
Group C	42.37 (35)	45.77 (56)	3.40	2.67
Group D	40.68 (151)	43.14 (108)	2.46	1.99
Group B	47.62 (46)			
Group A		51.79 (99)	4.17	4.61

* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of subjects.

It will be seen that in all cases the females made higher mean scores, and the differences are all significant or highly significant.⁷ The comparison between Group B males and Group A females is especially interesting. The two groups are closely similar with respect to the factors selected for test in this investigation (regional residence, size of home community, occupation and income of parents, etc.); they differ strikingly only in sex. Yet the difference between the mean scores of the two groups is highly significant.

Age. The age range covered by the Ss of this investigation is 16-27 years. All but 8 percent of the Ss fall within the range 17-21. No significant differences in the mean scores of the age groups were found. The coefficient of correlation between age and score on test for all subjects is $r = .029$. Thus, for the students used as subjects in this study, age does not seem to be a factor affecting attitude toward Jews. This finding confirms that of some other investigators of inter-group attitudes.⁸

Religious Affiliation. Of the total sample of 502 Ss, 400 (79.7 percent) are

⁷ Throughout this paper when the difference between two means is from 1.96 to 2.58 times its standard error, the difference will be termed significant. The probabilities are greater than 95 in 100 that such a difference is not due to chance. When the difference is more than 2.58 times its standard error, the difference will be termed highly significant. The probabilities are greater than 99 in 100 that such a difference is not due to chance. For a discussion of the 5 percent level of significance see T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics*, pp. 256-257, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1941.

⁸ Cf. E. L. Horowitz, "The Development of Attitude toward the Negro," *Arch. Psychol.*, 1936, n. 194. Also see G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, & T. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 928-929 (New York: Harper, 1937), for a summary and interpretation of investigations reporting age differences as affecting intergroup attitudes.

Protestant; 96 (19.1 percent) are Catholic; and 6 (1.2 percent) are not affiliated with any church. No difference was found between the mean score of the Protestants and that of the Catholics. (C. R. of the difference is 0.03.) Religion does not appear to be a factor associated with score on the test. (This, of course, does not apply to Jewish religious affiliation. As noted above, the difference between the mean scores of Jewish and non-Jewish subjects is highly significant.)

Course of Study. To discover if differences in the course of study being pursued by students are associated with differences in attitude, a tabulation of those Ss in Group D who reported themselves as majors in sociology, pre-medical students, and majors in courses in commerce and business was made. Table 2 shows that some real differences were found.

TABLE 2. ATTITUDE SCORES BY COURSE OF STUDY

Course	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
All Group D Ss	259	41.70	.571	—	—
Pre-meds	18	41.33	1.515	-0.37*	0.23
Commerce	59	38.10	1.813	-3.60*	1.89
Sociology	25	46.48	1.333	4.78*	3.30

* I.e. difference between each mean and that of the "All Group D Ss."

Those Ss with majors in commerce or business courses scored lower than the average of all Ss in Group D to a degree that verges on significance, while those majoring in sociology scored very significantly higher than the mean for the whole group. When the means for commerce and sociology students were compared the difference was found to be 3.72 times its standard error. A number of other investigations of inter-group attitudes have found the same trend: namely, a tendency for students majoring in the social sciences to be more favorably inclined toward other racial and nationality groups, and for students majoring in commerce and business to be less so. The explanation may be that the more "liberal" students are more likely to elect social science than commerce and business, or it may be that social science courses "liberalize" students more than commerce and business courses.

Regional Residence. Of the 502 Ss of this investigation, 330 gave their residence as in one of the South Atlantic or East South Central States, and 172 gave their residence as in one of the New England, Middle Atlantic, or East North Central States. The term Southern as used throughout this paper refers to the former, Northern to the latter. Is variation in regional residence associated with score on the test for attitude toward Jews?

Table 3 shows the means, differences, and C. R.'s of the differences of the Northern and Southern subjects in the total sample and also in the Group D sample (which is the only school population containing large numbers of Ss from both regions). The differences between the means are highly significant in both cases: C. R.s of 3.67 and 2.86, respectively, were obtained.

Three additional checks on the influence of the regional factor were made.

First, the 56 female Ss in Group C were compared with the 99 female Ss in Group A (the two groups, as noted above, being homologous with respect to all factors herein considered except that all Ss of Group C are Northern and all Ss of Group A are Southern). The mean score of the Group A (Southern) subjects was found to be higher than that of the Group C (Northern) subjects by a difference 6.23 times its standard error. Secondly, the 35 males of Group C were compared with the 46 males of Group B (all in Group C

TABLE 3. ATTITUDE SCORES BY REGIONAL RESIDENCE

Region	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
Total sample					
Northern	172	43.06	.716	—	—
Southern	330	46.20	.467	3.14	3.67
Group D sample					
Northern	78	38.92	1.245	—	—
Southern	181	42.83	.621	3.91	2.81

from the North; all in Group B from the South), and the Southern males scored higher than the Northern males by a difference 3.43 times its standard error. Finally, 34 Ss from the North were matched with 34 from the South with respect to sex, size of home community, and income of parents. The difference, still in the same direction, was significant ($C. R. = 2.02$).

The consistency of these differences and their magnitude provide unmistakable evidence that the Northern subjects are more "prejudiced"⁹ toward Jews than are the Southern subjects. The factor of regional residence proves to be a highly important factor affecting this particular inter-group attitude.

Size of Home Community. Table 4 makes possible a comparison of the

TABLE 4. ATTITUDE SCORES BY SIZE OF HOME COMMUNITY

Size of Community	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
Under 2500	164	46.62	.561	—	—
Over 2500	338	44.16	.491	2.46*	3.30
2500-10,000	80	44.46	1.282	2.16*	1.54
10,000-50,000	123	44.53	.570	2.09*	2.61
50,000-100,000	40	43.50	1.477	3.12*	1.97
100,000 and over	95	43.69	.971	2.93*	2.61

* All differences calculated from "Under 2500" group as base.

mean scores made by groups of subjects from home communities of varying size. Two trends are evident: (1) subjects from rural communities (under 2500 inhabitants) scored higher than urban subjects by a difference 3.30 times its standard error—a highly significant difference; (2) there is a tendency for scores to be related inversely to the size of the home community:

⁹ Throughout this paper the term "prejudiced" refers simply to the position on the attitude continuum assigned a subject on the basis of his score on the test. Those Ss who score low in comparison with others may be termed more "prejudiced"; those who score higher, less "prejudiced." Hereinafter, when the word is used it will be enclosed in quotation marks to remind the reader of this stipulated meaning.

subjects from the smaller communities tended to score higher, those from the larger communities to score lower.

It was found that the difference is in the same direction when the regional factor is kept constant. Thus, 129 Southern subjects from communities of less than 2500 inhabitants scored 46.94 as compared with a mean score of 43.29 for 48 Southern subjects from communities of 100,000 population and over; this difference is 2.34 times its standard error. The same comparison for Northern subjects yielded a smaller difference, but one in the same direction. (Mean for 35 Northern Ss from rural communities is 45.46, that for 47 Northern Ss from communities of 100,000 and over is 43.98; the difference is .87 times its standard error.

Occupation of Parents. When the mean scores of subjects classified in terms of the occupations of their parents are tabulated, as in Table 5, quite

TABLE 5. ATTITUDE SCORES BY OCCUPATION OF PARENTS

Occupation	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
Business	208	42.92	.635	—	—
Professional	113	44.01	.854	1.09*	1.02
Skilled	77	46.24	.906	3.32*	3.00
Clerical	40	47.15	1.110	4.23*	3.31
Farmer	47	47.16	.996	4.24*	3.59
Not given	17				

* All differences calculated from "Business" group as base.

clear-cut differences appear. The Ss whose parents are skilled laborers, clerical workers, or farmers scored significantly higher than those whose parents are in business or the professions. The mean score for the business and professional groups together is 43.28, that for the Ss whose parents are skilled workers, clerical workers, and farmers is 46.81; the difference is highly significant, being 4.53 times its standard error.

Income of Parents. The data on income of parents are probably not very reliable. The subjects were requested to check the income class to which their parents belong; if the S did not know this information he was clearly instructed to check "Don't know" in the schedule. Of the 502 Ss, 386 claimed to know the income of their parents. If the data are at all trustworthy the results are most striking.¹⁰ They are shown in Table 6.

It is clear that there is a marked relation between income of parents and score on the test: an inverse relation—the higher the income, the lower the score. Not only are the differences between each of the income classes and the "Under \$1500" class highly significant, but the difference between each class and that immediately under or over it is also significant (C. R.s of differences between successive classes are all over 2.00). The subjects of the

¹⁰ The only constant error the writer can imagine in the subjects' reporting of their parents' income is a tendency to rate that income too high. This would not account for the highly consistent relation found between that factor and test score.

lower income groups are plainly less "prejudiced" toward Jews than those of the upper income groups, and there is a marked tendency for "prejudice" to increase with an increase in income.

Frequency of Contact. Does a high frequency of contact between the members of two groups make for a more friendly and favorable inter-group attitude, or does it have the opposite effect? The findings of this investigation strongly suggest the latter. At least they indicate that those subjects who have had the greatest opportunity for contact with Jewish persons in the

TABLE 6. ATTITUDE SCORES BY INCOME OF PARENTS

Income of Parents	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
Under \$1500	46	51.15	.962	—	—
\$1500-\$2500	92	47.45	.756	3.70*	3.03
\$2500-\$5000	137	44.85	.721	6.30*	5.24
\$5000-\$10,000	76	41.03	1.129	10.12*	6.82
\$10,000 and over	35	36.80	1.674	14.35*	7.43
Don't know	116				

* All differences calculated from "Under \$1500" group as base.

home community and with Jewish students in the school situation tend to score consistently lower (indicating greater "prejudice") on the attitude test used in this investigation than those who have had less opportunity for contact. At least three considerations of the data support this conclusion.

First, as was pointed out above, Northern Ss scored consistently lower on the test than Southern Ss; all appropriate manipulations of the data show significant regional differences in this direction. The regional distribution of Jews in this country makes it extremely likely that the Northern Ss have had opportunity for very much more frequent contacts with Jews than have the Southern. Probably close to 90 percent of the Jews in the United States are concentrated in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central divisions, whereas less than 6 percent of the total Jewish population is in the South Atlantic and East South Central divisions. Over 5 percent of the total population of the Northern divisions is Jewish, while less than 1 percent of the Southern population is Jewish.¹¹ Thus, the strong presumption that Northern Ss have had considerably more opportunity for contact with Jews together with the fact that they scored significantly lower on the test provide evidence for thinking that frequency of contact is, in the present instance at least, related directly to "prejudice."

Secondly, the subjects of the present investigation from urban communities have had considerably greater opportunity for contact with Jews than have those from rural communities. Every city of more than 25,000 population has Jewish residents; about 90 of every hundred urban places have some Jews; incorporated rural places have Jewish residents in the ratio of about 30 in every hundred; while only about 7 out of every hundred unin-

¹¹ *The American Jewish Year Book*, v. 31, pp. 303-304, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Soc. of America, 1929.

corporated rural districts have Jewish residents.¹² More than two-thirds of all the Jews in this country live in eleven cities, all large, and all but two in the North.¹³ Thus, Jews are concentrated in the cities, and mainly in the larger cities. The rural-urban differences shown in Table 4 again support the view that frequency of contact is associated with "prejudice."

Finally, comparison of the mean scores of the four school populations sampled in this investigation further suggests the conclusion that frequency of contact is associated with low score on the test. Table 7 gives the number

TABLE 7. ATTITUDE SCORES BY SCHOOL GROUPS

School Group	N	% of Jewish students in school	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
A	99	0	51.79	.481	—	—
B	53	2	47.13	.820	4.66*	4.90
C	91	4	44.46	.657	7.33*	9.00
D	259	8	41.70	.571	10.09*	13.53

* All differences calculated from "Group A" as base.

of non-Jewish Ss tested in each of the four schools, an estimate of the proportion of Jewish students in the total population of each school,¹⁴ the mean score for each group tested, the differences between these means, and the measures of significance of the differences found.

The differences between the means are quite striking. Those Ss from the school with the lowest proportion of Jewish students scored higher (indicating least "prejudice") than those from the school with the highest proportion of Jewish students (who are most "prejudiced") by a difference 13.53 times its standard error; and the two school groups between these extremes are consistent with this trend.

Because this difference might be partially due to sex, regional, or other differences¹⁵ (see above for a discussion of the composition of the groups tested), 32 Ss from Group A were matched with 32 Ss from Group D for sex, regional residence, size of home community, income of parents, and number of intimate Jewish friends. The difference still obtained: means are 51.02 and 43.87, respectively; C. R. = 5.09.

There is, then, strong evidence that those subjects who have had greatest opportunity for contact with Jewish students in the school situation tend

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ M. R. Davie, *World Immigration*, p. 167, New York, Macmillan, 1936.

¹⁴ It was found to be impossible to obtain an accurate count of the number of Jewish students in these schools. The estimates are based on the records of religious affiliation which are filled out by the students upon entrance. It is fairly probable that at least the rank order of these schools in terms of the proportion of Jewish students is accurate.

¹⁵ This does not seem to be the explanation of the difference between Group C and Group D means (Group D mean is lower than Group C mean by a difference 3.17 times its standard error). The regional difference here (since other factors are relatively constant; except for the greater proportion of Jewish students in Group D's school) would lead one to expect a higher score for Group D Ss.

to score consistently lower (indicating less favorable attitude) on the test than those who have had less opportunity for contact.

Intimacy of Contact. This, however, is not the whole story. If the discussion were ended at this point the unfortunate impression would be left with the reader that contact and association with Jewish persons in the home community and with Jewish students in school make for less favorable attitudes toward such persons. It should be noted immediately that there are different kinds of contact, that contacts differ *qualitatively* as well as quantitatively. The intimate and personal contacts involved in primary group relations may have an entirely different effect on attitude from the less intimate and impersonal contacts of secondary group relations.¹⁶ Data obtained in this investigation seem to support this view.

The subjects of the present investigation were asked to indicate whether or not they had ever had any close and intimate friends who were Jewish, and if so how many. Table 8 shows the relation of this factor to test score.

TABLE 8. ATTITUDE SCORES BY NUMBER OF JEWISH FRIENDS

Number of Friends	N	Mean	σ mean	Diff.	Diff./ σ diff.
None	241	43.61	.601	—	—
1	68	42.82	1.264	-0.79*	0.56
2	70	45.47	.959	1.86*	1.64
3	30	47.73	1.426	4.12*	2.66
More than 3	93	48.05	.701	4.44*	4.81

* All differences calculated from "None" group as base.

It will be seen that there is a fairly consistent trend toward higher score (indicating more favorable attitude) with an increase in the number of intimate Jewish friends claimed by the subjects. When the mean score of the group stating that they have had no intimate Jewish friends is compared with the mean for all others together, the difference is found to be highly significant: means are 43.61 and 45.96, respectively; C. R. is 2.85. The difference between the mean of the group claiming no intimate friends and that claiming more than three friends is 4.81 times its standard error, a highly significant difference. Thus, there is evidence that intimacy of contact is directly associated with favorability of attitude: the more intimate contacts, the less "prejudice," and *vice versa*.

It may be concluded, then, on the basis of the data offered here, that the *quality* of the contact between Jews and non-Jews is highly important in conditioning the inter-group attitude. Mere frequency of contact does not make for a reduction of "prejudice" (rather the reverse), but if the contacts are intimate and personal the attitude is likely to be favorable.

Note. The temptation is strong to point out that these findings, together with those on the association with attitude score of such factors as regional

¹⁶ See T. Newcomb's excellent summary and interpretation of the experimental investigations which support this conclusion in G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, & T. Newcomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 996-997.

residence, size of home community, and occupation and income of parents support the "competition hypothesis" employed by many sociologists but perhaps most clearly formulated by Faris:¹⁷ namely, that "prejudice" arises in situations where there is some degree of tension, some competition for goods or for status. However, this hypothesis has been tested in the present investigation, if at all, only indirectly. Suffice it to say that those subjects who, on some logical grounds, *may be presumed* to be in competition with Jews to a greater degree are the subjects who consistently score lower on the attitude test.

III. SUMMARY

An attitude test, meeting the conventional requirements for reliability and validity, was administered to 502 non-Jewish college and university students. Information on ten factors was obtained from each subject by means of a personal data schedule, and certain standard statistical operations were performed to measure the degree of association of each of these factors with the attitude measured by the test.

Two of the ten factors: *age* and *religious affiliation*: were found to have no influence on attitude score.

The other eight factors were found to be associated significantly with the scores made on the test:

- (1) *Sex*. Female Ss scored significantly higher (indicating more favorable attitude) than males.
- (2) *Course of Study*. Students majoring in sociology scored very significantly higher than the average for a sample of a school population; students majoring in commerce and business courses were found to score lower than average to a degree verging on significance.
- (3) *Regional Residence*. Subjects from the Northern region were found to be less favorable in their attitude toward Jews than subjects from the South.
- (4) *Size of Home Community*. Rural and small town subjects were found to be less "prejudiced"; urban, and especially, metropolitan subjects were found to be more "prejudiced."
- (5) *Occupation of Parents*. Subjects whose parents are engaged in business or professional occupations scored significantly lower (indicating greater "prejudice") than subjects whose parents are skilled workers, clerical workers, or farmers.
- (6) *Income of Parents*. A direct relation between income of parents and "prejudice" was found: subjects whose parents are in the upper income groups scored significantly lower than those whose parents are in the lower income groups.
- (7) *Frequency of Contact*. This factor was found to be related inversely to favorable attitude. Subjects who have had greatest opportunity for contact with Jewish persons generally and with Jewish students specifically scored lower on the test than subjects who have had less opportunity for contact.
- (8) *Intimacy of Contact*. Subjects who have had intimate Jewish friends manifested less "prejudice" than those who have not; and the more friends they have had, the less "prejudice" shown.

¹⁷ E. Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature*, pp. 320-321, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1937.

READER-APPEAL OF RELIGIOUS ARTICLES

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Points of interest. Has interest in religion, broadly conceived, really declined? Some pertinent data from Reader Appeal Tests. [Ed.]

IT IS A matter of common belief that the interest of the American people in religious subjects has decreased sharply in recent decades. A chapter in *Recent Social Trends* by Hornell Hart presented evidence that authors of articles in periodicals disapproved of *traditional* religion but not of *liberal* religion. The study of which this article is a summary uncovered the interesting fact that *Reader's Digest* articles chosen by seminary students for religious significance were way above the average in popularity with a sample of readers throughout 1940.

The study was made in the spring of 1941 at the suggestion of the Public Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, to determine the extent to which "religious" articles are being published in "non-religious" periodicals. The first approach to the problem was based upon an analysis of all articles which were listed for the year 1940 by *Reader's Guide* under "Religion," "Religious," and the first "see also" classifications in 13 magazines selected for circulation and quality. It was abandoned when only 14 articles were discovered, 10 from the *Atlantic Monthly*. Why was there such scarcity of articles in the other 12 important magazines? Perhaps it indicates that the "religious" articles submitted to editors were too poor in reader-interest to be published; or that the editors with their hands on the pulse of the public recognize the general lack of interest in such subjects. There is also the possibility that articles about religious values are classified under other headings by *Reader's Guide*.

The second approach was more fruitful. It involved using the 1940 numbers of *The Reader's Digest* as the basis for a comparison of the reader-appeal of "religious" or "near religious" articles published during 1940 with the reader-appeal of all other articles appearing in the same issues. The editors of the *Reader's Digest* made available the results of their monthly questionnaire studies of reader-appeal, so that it was possible to determine the ranking of the articles designated as "religious" or "near religious."

The selection of "religious" and "near religious" articles in each issue was made on the assumption that there were certain articles which could be logically placed in these categories, although they may actually have been classified elsewhere by *The Reader's Guide*. Selection of the five articles in each issue of *The Reader's Digest* which could most logically be labeled as "religious" was entrusted to a research seminar at the Hartford Theological Seminary, the members of which differed widely in denominational affilia-

tion and background. Considerable difficulty was encountered in finding a logical and practicable basis for selecting "religious" articles. The following criterion was erected after lengthy discussion: "Select those articles (five in each issue) which you consider most likely to inspire or release in laymen, who may some day belong to your church, conduct exemplifying the principles dominant in the life of Jesus."

The students read each issue from cover to cover except for Book Summaries and Departments. Each chose five articles in each issue. Naturally, the students differed in their selections, and the total chosen by at least one student was far in excess of the five needed for statistical comparison with the Reader-Appeal Questionnaires. It was necessary, therefore, to select from the 137 articles chosen by at least one student the sixty articles (five in each issue) needed. This was done by vote of the group after general discussion. It might be commented in passing that there is significance in the fact that these Seminary students considered about one-third of the articles of the magazine as "religious," although only a handful had been indexed by *The Reader's Guide*. This suggested the type of article which was designated as "near religious"—one which seeks to evoke favorable response toward a value taught by Jesus, but not necessarily in a traditional manner.

The reader should note that the criterion used in selecting these articles is quite different from what is traditional. Earlier in the study the attempt was made to select for study all the articles which discussed such topics as the life or work of religious leaders, churches, theological issues and other traditionally religious subjects. In the opinion of the Seminary students these articles were, in many cases, ecclesiastical or theological rather than religious. The criterion used in this study led the Seminary students to include most of the articles about traditional religious topics, but they also chose many which were religious in the liberal sense, dealing with heroic devotion to humanitarian ends, and with social pioneering in crime prevention, labor, race and other problem areas.

The Reader-Appeal Tests made by the Reader's Digest Association consisted in mailing questionnaires to a random sample of subscribers. During the first part of the year 3000 were mailed monthly, and this number was raised in June to 6500, while the remainder of the year saw about 4000 questionnaires mailed each month. These were evenly distributed according to sex. The returns for the year varied from 26 percent to 46 percent. The questionnaires listed all the articles in the current issue, and requested subscribers to check the six articles which they found most interesting. Replies were tabulated separately for each sex, and then combined. In this way each article was given a reader-appeal position with reference to the other articles in the same issue, by men, by women, and by the total of men and women. Decided differences appeared between reading preferences of men and women.

Of 60 articles selected by the Seminary students as highest in "religious" significance, 15, or 25 percent, were ranked by *The Reader's Digest* sample of male readers among the first five in the issues in which they appeared. The average number of articles in each issue, not counting Departments and Book Summaries, was about 33, and only five thirty-thirds, or fifteen percent, of the articles selected by the students would be expected in the first five, according to the laws of chance. In comparison to the 15 articles ranked in the first five by the men, 28, or 46.7 percent of the 60 articles were rated among the top five by the women. In the high ten there is even greater deviation. The men ranked 23 out of 60 among the first ten, whereas 46 out of 60 were so ranked by the women! The women, therefore, doubled the men's votes for the articles chosen by the Seminary students.

SUMMARY OF READER-APPEAL RANKING OF SIXTY ARTICLES CHOSEN FOR RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE BY SEMINARY STUDENTS

	Total	Reader-Appeal Ranking	
		Male	Females
Total firsts	5	1	5
Total seconds	4	3	6
Total thirds	5	5	4
Total fourths	3	3	8
Total fifths	5	3	5
Total first five	22 (37%)	15 (25%)	28 (47%)
Total first ten	40 (67%)	23 (38%)	46 (77%)

That the articles having religious value hold more interest to the female readers implies that men's primary interests lie in other realms. Does this bear out the contention of many that the female of the species is by nature more "spiritually" inclined than the male? The fact that the students were all males has no bearing on this question, because the students were instructed to choose articles of religious nature. Undoubtedly, they would have picked another set of 60 articles had they been instructed to select those which they found most interesting.

Further analysis was made by classifying the 60 selected articles according to the following literary types: biographical, expository, argumentative, descriptive and narrative. For purposes of comparison, four complete issues were broken down into these same categories. Nine of the 11 student-chosen articles of the argumentative type ranked within the first ten in reader-appeal. This is 82 percent! From the sample months we know that argumentative articles of themselves did not rank so well. During the four sample months only 21 percent of the argumentative articles were among the high five, whereas 55 percent of the same type selected for religious significance were so ranked.

Almost as significant is the fact that 17 out of 22, or 77 percent of the

biographical articles selected by the investigators, ranked among the first ten in general reader interest. During the four sample months only fourteen percent of all the biographical articles were among the first five, whereas 36 percent of those having religious significance were ranked among the first five.

There is a decided difference in the tastes of men and women in literary types. Of the argumentative articles selected as having religious significance, 91 percent were ranked among the first ten by the women, whereas only 55 percent were so ranked by the men. The deviation remains as great in the biographical and in the descriptive types. Only in the narrative does the sex differential tend to disappear.

In general subject matter, there is an evident sex deviation in the ranking of articles. The men tend to rank articles which are descriptive of the social scene higher than do the women. On the other hand, women rank descriptive articles of an aesthetic kind higher than do the men. The women tend to favor biographies of persons who were doing humanitarian tasks, or who were humble and unknown to the headlines. On the other hand, the men choose as most interesting biographies of well-known personages who sat in high places and ruled the destinies of others. A similar cleavage of taste is to be noted in the argumentative articles. Men are interested in articles advocating a more aggressive democracy, whereas the women are interested in arguments for moral and social reconditioning. On the subject of the Church, the men seem to prefer those articles which condemn the Church or note its shortcomings or depict it in a non-traditional and unconventional task. Women prefer the more conventional treatment of the Church, of religion and things spiritual.

The reader desirous of checking articles chosen for religious significance can examine the March, 1940 issue, using the same criterion as did the Seminary students. The articles used in this study from the March issue, together with their reader-appeal rankings, follow:

Title of Articles	Total	Reader Appeal Ranking	
		Male	Female
The Light That Has Failed	1	1	4
Over Jordan	4	7	3
The Good Shepherd	3	3	2
This Business of Growing Old	9	14	9
Calvary in New Mexico	32	32	30

The March issue has special interest because it contains three articles ranked in the first five for reader-appeal. It also exhibits one of the three Seminary choices ranked below 22 in reader-appeal. The other two rated 24 and 26.

The findings of the study can be briefly summarized:

1. Analysis shows that the Seminary students, in choosing articles of "religious" or "near-religious" significance, selected more biographies and

narratives and very many fewer expository articles than would have occurred in an average of the issues for the year 1940. Both of these literary types present values indirectly. The fact that the articles chosen from these two types stand up in popularity is very significant.

2. Articles chosen by the Seminary students have between one and one-half and three times as much reader-appeal as one would find in a random sampling from all the 1940 copies of *The Reader's Digest*. Why are these "religious" articles so popular? One might wonder whether the Seminary students were *forced* to find religious articles. They felt this to be true in very few cases. The popularity of these articles suggests strongly that the readers of periodicals respond positively to the appeal made by a clear but indirect presentation of underlying Christian values. It may be partly explained by the fact that many articles appeal to persons with certain individual hobbies or interests, but the fact that these articles are so popular may have some significance as an indication of what the underlying values of Americans are.

3. With few exceptions the articles selected by the Seminary students were very much more popular with women than with men. This finding may not come as a surprise to editors of periodicals, but it should be found very interesting by authors, preachers and social scientists. If the tastes of people are determined by their activities, then this sex differential may serve as a kind of controlled experiment. It would be interesting to re-sort male and female questionnaires by occupation and training were the data available to make this possible. Let us hope that the Reader's Digest Association may continue to make reader appeal studies. The difference between sexes in reading tastes is only one of the many uses that social scientists can make of their data.

DIFFERENTIAL CRIMINAL CASE MORTALITY IN SELECTED JURISDICTIONS*

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Points of interest. An approach to law and order among the statistics of lawlessness and disorder. Some surprising similarities between different jurisdictions in over-all efficiency of jurisprudence. [Ed.]

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM. This paper will attempt to do three things: first, to provide a picture of the mortality rates of criminal cases as they pass through the agencies of the law; second, to provide some tentative estimates of the case load of the major agencies of law enforcement; and third, to present some tentative conclusions on the relative outcome expectations of a limited number of major offenses.

Ideally, we might ask for two parallel sets of criminal statistics—one in which the unit of enumeration was the offense and a second in which the unit of tabulation was the offender. The statistics based on the offense would be primarily of administrative nature and would indicate the amount of crime and tell something of the efficiency of the agencies of law enforcement. Such statistics would begin with crimes known to the police and indicate the penalties (if any) resulting from each offense. The second set would take the offender as the unit of tabulation and would provide information on the personal and social characteristics of the persons dealt with at various stages of administrative procedure. Relatively little is known of the numerical relationship between offenses and offenders either for crime as a whole or for particular offenses. Unfortunately no such sets of parallel data exist.

There are seven stages in the administration of the criminal law which are, for the major offense group of the Uniform Crime Classification, more or less adequately covered on a national basis. These are: (1) Crimes known to the police; (2) Offenses cleared by arrest; (3) Persons charged by the police; (4) Judicial criminal prosecutions; (5) Criminal convictions; (6) Prison sentences; (7) Prisoners received from the courts by the prisons.

These represent successive stages in the prosecution of individual cases although it is well known that not all cases go to the final stage. The problem here is to establish the relationships between the stages, particularly between the first and the last. It will be noticed that the first two stages involve an enumeration of offenses, offenses known and offenses cleared; the last five involve counting of persons. The personal characteristics of the individuals contacted by law enforcement agencies, other than prisons, of the nation as a whole, are substantially unknown; therefore, no effort will be

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, New York City, December 27, 1941.

here undertaken to make comparisons of personal characteristics of individuals at different stages of treatment.

The problem of the classification of criminal offenses is one which limits the area of comparison. The writer sees no practical possibility of the development of significant studies of this sort covering other than the "class one" offenses. On the other hand, it is very clear that as between the "class one" offenses there are selective factors other than chance operating at every procedural level which increase the probability of continuation of one charge as against that of another. The factors may arise from the characteristics of the offense or those of the offender.

The existing national data present problems of accuracy, comparability and coverage. In no state has it been possible to obtain comprehensive data at each of the seven stages of procedural treatment. The difficulties arise from the varied sources of the information. The "Crimes known," arrest, and charge data are received primarily from municipal police services, and in addition some county and state police forces report. One difficulty is the fact of overlapping jurisdictions. In some cases, city, county and state police may operate in the same areas enforcing the same laws. In the rural areas police data are very difficult to secure as the local enforcement officers are frequently either unable or unwilling to go to the effort required in co-operating with a national reporting agency. The court data are almost invariably based on county or district courts with areas of jurisdiction determined by county lines; the information thus obtained can be related to city police data only when county and municipality limits are identical, a situation of distinctly infrequent occurrence.

In recent years the Census Bureau has received from most states information on the county from which prisoners were received. This information may, with some effort, be related to the judicial information where that is available, but detailed comparisons by offense are made difficult by the fact that the basis of tabulation of judicial data is the offense charged whereas the basis of tabulation of the prison data is the offense for which sentenced. It is not infrequent to find more prisoners received for manslaughter than were originally accused of it, the apparent incongruity being due to the fact that a considerable number of individuals sentenced for manslaughter were originally charged with murder.

A curious aspect of the relationship between prison and judicial statistics is the fact that prisoners received by the prison frequently outnumber defendants sentenced to prison by the courts. In some cases this phenomena may be due to time lag; more frequently it is based on the revocation of probation and suspended sentences since the judicial statistics report only the disposition of cases at the end of trial and ignore subsequent proceedings, if any.

A study of the crime surveys of the past two decades indicated that the full picture from offense to prison was seldom or never available with any

completeness for subdivisions of states. One jurisdiction was found, however, in which almost all the information was available—this was that unique political entity, the District of Columbia, where, with no county government, municipality and quasi-state are geographically coterminous.

The District of Columbia. Table 1 gives figures for each item in the procedural series for Washington in 1939. The crimes-known data as obtained from the District Police Department and printed in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were compared with the records of the Washington Criminal Justice Association, a local privately-supported

TABLE 1. CRIMINAL STATISTICS DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. SPECIFIED
CLASS ONE* OFFENSES: 1939

Tabulation	Source	Number Repre- sented	Coverage	Pct. Crimes Known	Pct. Previous Figure
1. Crimes known	Police-FBI	14,029	663,091 ^d	100	—
2. Offenses cleared	Police-FBI	5,011 ^e	663,091	35.7	35.7
3. Persons charged	Police-Brown	2,671	663,091	19.0	53.3
4. Judicial prosecutions	Courts	1,046 ^b	663,091	7.5	39.2 ^e
5. Convictions	Courts	828 ^b	663,091	5.9	79.2
6. Sentenced to prison	Courts	524 ^b	663,091	3.7	63.3
7. Prisoners from courts	Prisons	506 ^a	663,091	3.6	96.6

* Offenses included. Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft.

^b Exclusive of cases of nonnegligent manslaughter.

^c This figure is actually the *Uniform Crime Report* figure for persons arrested (*Uniform Crime Reports* 1940, Pt. 3, Page 139), but a statement from the FBI indicates that it should have carried the #4 footnote since it is, in fact, the Washington figure for charges rather than persons. The "Persons" data was obtained from the police who say it is about 20 percent low in that it does not contain persons arrested beyond the month of the crime concerned. There seems to be good reason to believe that police charges approximate offenses cleared.

^d 1940, complete.

^e 20.9 of No. 2.

law enforcement agency. The Criminal Justice association found appreciably fewer "substantiated" reports of rape and a great many more substantiated reports of armed robberies. The percentage discrepancies with regard to the other offenses for which comparisons were available were minor.

The police departments' figures for "persons charged" were about half those reported by the FBI although the ratio varied from offense to offense. Investigation disclosed that the figures printed by the FBI were supposed to be "charges" rather than "persons charged." Since the police would, except in extraordinary circumstances such as the death of a defendant, normally make a charge for each case they consider cleared by arrest; the charges figure is used as "offenses cleared by arrest."

Two series of ratios were developed to indicate the relationship between the frequencies at the various procedural levels. The first is based on the number of offenses known and shows first "Offenses Cleared" and then persons treated at each subsequent procedural stage as fractions of "Offenses Known." The second set of ratios gives each procedural step as a fraction of

the preceding one. Probably the most important single figure of these series is the one indicating that the number of prisoners received at prison for "Class One" offenses is 3.6 percent of the number of offenses given by the police as known to them.

Minnesota. Table 2 covering the State of Minnesota is comparable to that presented for the District of Columbia except that the item "Persons Charged" is missing. Even, so, Minnesota is the only state in which complete police data on crimes known is available and one of a relatively small

TABLE 2. CRIMINAL STATISTICS MINNESOTA. SPECIFIED CLASS ONE* OFFENSES: 1939

Tabulation	Source	Number Represented	Coverage	Pct. Crimes Known	Pct. Previous Figure
1. Crimes known	Police	20,487	Complete 2,792,300 (1940)	100	—
2. Offense cleared	Police	7,134	—	34.8	34.8
3. Persons charged	Police	—	—	—	—
4. Judicial prosecutions	Courts	1,448	Complete	7.1	20.3
5. Convictions	Courts	1,318	Complete	6.4	91.0
6. Sentenced to prison	Courts	637	Complete	3.1	48.3
7. Prisoners received	Prisons	701	Complete	3.4	110.0

* Class One Offenses—Murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft.

group from which complete judicial data are accessible. There is reason to believe that the procedures established by the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension by which the reports of local police officers are checked against judicial, newspaper, insurance, and death records result in a "crimes known" report second to none in completeness and accuracy.

The author confesses to considerable surprise at the similarities in the percentages. As between the two jurisdictions, never so much as a full percent separates the computed ratios between successive steps in prosecution and crimes known.

The United States. An effort was made to prepare for the nation as a whole a set of procedural ratios for class one offenses which would be comparable with the ratios determined for Washington and Minnesota. As will be indicated, this required estimation of totals from incomplete coverage. Ratios based on such estimates must be tentative. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the estimates were made without reference to the District of Columbia and Minnesota findings. The results, as indicated in Table 3, provide interesting comparisons with the more restricted data. Particularly striking is the vital ratio of prisoners received to crimes known which stands at 3.8 as compared with 3.6 for Washington and 3.4 for Minnesota. In view of the fact that there are some appreciable jurisdictional differences in the case mortality rates at particular jurisdictional steps, the conclusion is suggested that the overall efficiency of the law is little influenced by the effi-

ciency of a single agency. If true, this conclusion is of the utmost importance.

If some general relationships can be established between the numbers of individuals or cases involved at different stages of the administration of the criminal law, known figures for one stage of the procedure become valuable as bases for estimates for the unknown quantities in those areas where data are incomplete.

The data on the first three items are available in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the FBI, but the extent of coverage varies for the different items of information, from time to time, and even as between offenses. It has been possible to

TABLE 3. CRIMINAL STATISTICS UNITED STATES. CLASS ONE OFFENSES: 1939

Collecting Agency	Tabulation	Data Source	Number Reported (thousands)	Population and Area	Estimated U.S. Total (thousands)	Pct. Crimes Known	Pct. Previous Figure
FBI	1. Crimes known	Police	610	41,000,000 in 1,212 cities	2,000	100	—
FBI	2. Offenses cleared	Police	171	41,000,000 in 1,212 cities	500	25	25
FBI	3. Persons charged	Police	134	41,000,000 in 1,212 cities	400	20	80
Census	4. Judicial pros.	Courts	70	98% of 66,000,000 in 25 states	140	7	35
Census	5. Convictions	Courts	55	98% of 66,000,000 in 25 states	110	5.5	80
Census	6. Sent'd. to prison	Courts	20	98% of 66,000,000 in 25 states	70 ^{a,b}	3.5	65
Census	7. Prisoners rec'd.	Prisons	66 ^b	Federal and 96% of State	75 ^{b,c}	3.8	107

^a Discrepancy between this ratio and that of reported to U. S. total due to the fact that the states in the Judicial area are the ones making the most use of probation.

^b Includes Federal.

^c Excess of prisoners received over prisoners sentenced is based on revocations of probation. The first action only of trial court is reported. Excess would be greater if it were not for the fact that some cases never get to prison because of appeal, insanity, death, etc.

obtain complete or nearly complete information on each item from 1,212 cities (1939) having a total population of about 41,000,000, about a third of the United States total. The FBI figures were therefore tripled and rounded off to the nearest hundred thousand. The resultant approximations will be high to the extent that the real crime rate of the rest of the country is lower than that of the cities covered, low to the extent that the reporting is incomplete in the coverage area. That the errors are compensating seems the best guess.

The data on the three items referring to the judicial process are obtained from the Judicial Criminal Statistics of the Bureau of the Census and cover (1939) 25 States and the District of Columbia with a total population of 66,000,000. It is true that certain counties are missing from the Census data, but they include only about 2 percent of the population of the States covered. The judicial figures are doubled except as indicated in the table footnote.

The Prison data (1939) covers the felony prisons of the Federal Government and all of the States except Alabama (which is included in the 1940 data) and Georgia, so that the estimated figure approximates a count. The figure is lower than the Bureau of Labor Statistics prison figure of 192,000 since that agency includes non-felon institutions when under State or Federal supervision.

Individual Offense Comparisons. The Minnesota and District of Columbia

data were felt to be sufficiently reliable to justify the construction of a series of ratios between the various procedural states for particular offenses (Tables 4 and 5). Generalizations based on these rather limited data must be

TABLE 4. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIMINAL STATISTICS, 1939
(Ratios per 100)

Offenses	Pros. Rates for Offenses Known	Conviction Rates		Prison Sentence Rate for Con- viction	Imprisonment Rates			
		Prose- cutions	Offenses Known		Sen- tences	Con- victions	Prose- cutions	Offenses Known
Murder	30.2*	50.0	15.1*	100.0	62.5	62.5	31.3	9.4*
Manslaughter	117.9*	81.8	96.4*	77.8	104.8	81.5	66.7	78.6*
Rape	63.6	64.3	40.9	50.0	133.3	66.7	42.9	27.3
Robbery	41.6	76.2	31.7	82.4	93.3	76.9	58.6	24.4
Aggravated assault	26.3	69.2	18.2	61.6	96.7	59.6	41.3	10.8
Burglary	11.9	87.0	10.4	64.0	100.6	64.4	56.0	6.7
Larceny	2.0	84.2	1.7	44.4	103.1	45.8	38.6	.8
Auto theft	8.4	75.5	6.3	51.3	91.7	47.0	35.5	3.0
Total	7.9	78.9	6.2	63.5	97.5	61.9	48.8	3.8

* Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter are grouped together by the FBI to give the figures for offenses known.

guarded but certain observations which may be called enlightened guesses or hypotheses rather than conclusions may be made concerning the procedural prognoses for particular charges at particular stages in prosecution. It is obvious that the hypotheses here offered are not the only ones which might be suggested by the data. They are the ones which in my opinion have the best chance of standing up under testing.

Offenses vs. Persons Compared with Offenses against Property: These two groups are sharply differentiated procedurally. The most conspicuous dif-

TABLE 5. MINNESOTA CRIMINAL STATISTICS, 1939
(Ratios per 100)

Offenses	Pros. Rates for Offenses Known	Conviction Rates		Prison Sentence Rate for Con- viction	Imprisonment Rates			
		Prose- cutions	Offenses Known		Sen- tences	Con- victions	Prose- cutions	Offenses Known
Murder	21.1*	58.3	12.3*	100.0	100.0	100.0	58.3	12.3*
Manslaughter	93.3*	60.7	56.7*	58.8	90.0	52.9	32.1	30.0*
Rape	84.8	90.2	76.5	51.5	103.8	53.5	48.2	40.9
Robbery	19.4	87.4	17.0	79.3	95.5	75.7	66.1	12.9
Aggravated assault	33.6	86.1	29.0	56.5	97.1	54.8	47.2	15.9
Burglary	4.7	97.8	4.6	45.9	120.8	55.5	54.2	2.6
Larceny	5.9	91.0	5.4	43.2	112.7	48.7	44.3	2.6
Auto theft	6.0	94.7	5.7	42.2	117.6	49.7	47.1	2.8
Total	7.1	91.0	6.4	48.3	110.0	53.2	48.4	3.4

* Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter are grouped together by the FBI to give the figures for offenses known.

ference lies in the fact that ordinarily the ratio of prosecutions to property offenses is less than one to ten. The ratio of convictions to prosecutions is on the other hand conspicuously high. Although the ratio of prison sentences to convictions is low, the difference in prison admissions is not so great. This fact is presumably due to the higher rate of commitments for violation of probation in property cases. Robbery which partakes both of the nature of crime against the person and crime against property appears in these data to share the procedural characteristics of offenses against the person. Totals not broken down by offense reflect the property crime ratios because of their numerical preponderance in the total major felony group.

Murder. It seems likely that the number of murders reported by the police as known to them exceeds the number actually committed. This is almost certainly not true of any other crime. Murder is very likely to be prosecuted as manslaughter. If by successful prosecution is meant obtaining a conviction of the offense charged murder is the hardest of the major offenses to prosecute successfully. On the other hand a conviction of murder, or of a lesser offense in which the original charge was murder, is most likely to result in a prison sentence. In terms of actual offenses committed murder is probably more likely than any other offense to result in someone's going to prison for something, nevertheless the odds seem to be at least 8 to 1 that it wouldn't be for murder.

Manslaughter. Statistics on this offense must be regarded with great suspicion. Most manslaughter convictions result from acts originally reported as murder and most manslaughter charges fail to produce manslaughter convictions.

Rape. There is reason to suspect that rapes reported to the police total only a fraction of the number of offenses committed. Once reported however it is more likely than any other offense to result in a prosecution and it has a high survival rate at each succeeding step with the result that imprisonments on this charge bear a higher ratio to offenses reported than in the case of any other offense.

Robbery. In many areas robbery is frequently prosecuted as larceny or as assault. The ratios of convictions to offenses and of imprisonment to convictions are higher than for any other property offenses.

Burglary. Among the least likely of the major felonies to be prosecuted this offense seems to be the one most likely to result in conviction as charged if it is prosecuted.

Larceny. This most frequent of all the major offenses shows the lowest ratio of prison admissions to offenses known.

Auto Larceny. Statistics on auto larceny are dubious because of the inability to maintain the separation of auto and other larcenies throughout the stages of prosecution. Where distinguishable it seems to be more seriously treated than other forms of larceny.

A TENSION THEORY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

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Points of interest. An integration of psychoanalytic and sociological theories of crime. Insights derived from first-hand study of embezzlers in the psychopathic clinic of a court. [Ed.]

THE NEED for abandoning the legalistic restrictions in criminological theory and for bringing together relevant etiologial observations has been worked out by Sutherland in his conceptualization of behavior systems in crime.¹ Citing the behavior units formulated by Hall² in the field of larceny, Sutherland defines the behavior system in general as an integrated unit of behavior, a groupway of life, not peculiar to any individual and characterized by a feeling of identification of those who participate in it. He describes racketeering, kidnapping, professional theft, circus grifting, drug addiction, fraudulent advertising and manipulation of corporate securities as examples of behavior systems. "It is not understood that the entire area of crime can be covered in this manner. Rather it is understood that certain crimes cluster in systems, are organized, are combined with other behavior in such manner as to form systems, and that certain other crimes stand somewhat isolated and outside of systems."³ Sutherland develops the concept of differential association as the mechanism by which general behavior becomes integrated in a behavior system of crime. "Systematic criminal behavior is due immediately to differential association in a situation in which cultural conflicts exist, and ultimately to the social disorganization in that situation."⁴

The present proposal is to supplement the concept of the behavior system with some clinical observations of individual and group offenders whose criminal behavior does not constitute a behavior system, and to supplement the concept of differential association by attempting to explain the criminal behavior of these offenders in terms of tension arising from biological and interpersonal as well as cultural conditions. The tension theory to be developed is held to be applicable to all offenders whose criminal behavior is not systematic or routine. For purposes of presentation, however, the discussion will be limited to one kind of criminal behavior, embezzlement. Two kinds of embezzlement behavior will be distinguished and presented separately: first, individual or apparently spontaneous embezzlement, and second, group embezzlement which tends to be more or less organized. It is believed

¹ E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, Chicago, 1939, pp. 218-230.

² Jerome Hall, *Theft, Law, and Society*, Boston, 1935. The offenses of receiving stolen property, automobile theft, and petty larceny are analyzed in particular.

³ Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

that most embezzlement is of the spontaneous, individual type: it is not usually systematic, it seems usually to be a departure from routine habits, and cannot be adequately explained in terms of differential association. Hence an attempt will be made to explain it in terms of tension, a concept which has been used rather generally in the behavior sciences.⁵ Group embezzlement seems to differ somewhat from individual embezzlement lying between the theory of tension and the theory of differential association.

During the last six years the writer has examined about 2,200 adult offenders convicted in Detroit for the usual variety of criminal offenses. Of this number about fifty offenders, or 2.2 percent have been embezzlers.⁶ The examinations have taken place in the Psychopathic Clinic of the Detroit Recorder's Court, where they have been referred by the judges of this municipal criminal court who wish suggestions as to disposition and possible treatment. Each offender is first given a general physical and neurological examination by a physician. A psychiatrist then examines the offender for the purpose of noting any gross psychopathology. The present study is based on the results of observations made during intelligence test and life history interviews. These range in duration from one interview of three or four hours to twenty-five or thirty interviews totalling fifty or sixty hours. The interview may be divided into three parts. The shortest part is given to the psychometric test which requires about thirty minutes. Then the external aspects of the life history are recorded. The remainder of the interview or interviews, which is always more than half of the total time spent with the offender, is given to the subjective aspects of the history: the offender is given the lead and the examiner attempts to follow him into whatever subject he goes, encouraging him to elaborate when he becomes lost in his story, embarrassed or otherwise inhibited.

The individual embezzler is a person in a position of trust who appropriates privately and by deceit and trickery the property entrusted to him by a reputable employer. He is usually a white collar criminal.⁷ He seems to constitute a relatively homogeneous psychosocial category. He is schooled beyond the common grades and is of average or better than average intelligence. He is usually a first offender with no record of previous arrest. He has a regular and adequate work record. He lives in a non-delinquent neighborhood and is residentially stable. He is married and has an ostensibly happy family life. He has regular habits, is often a church goer, is not usually alcoholic. He makes a pleasing impression, is not isolated from community interests, is well informed about current events. He is contritious and remorseful for having committed the embezzlement, seems to think not of himself

⁵ H. Flanders Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes, A Survey of Literature on Psychosomatic Interrelationships 1910-1933*, New York, 1935; Kurt Lewin, *The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces*, Duke University Press, 1938; L. K. Frank, "The Management of Tensions," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.* 33: 705-736, March, 1928; S. C. Dodd, "A Tension Theory of Societal Action," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 4: 56-77, February, 1939.

⁶ This is less than a third of the total number of convictions for embezzlement in Detroit during the period. For the six year period from 1936 through 1941 there was a total of 160 convictions for embezzlement ranging from 17 to 34 per year.

⁷ E. H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 5: 1-12, February, 1940.

but of the humiliation he has caused his family and friends. He appears to have good judgment and insight yet he cannot explain his embezzlement satisfactorily to himself. Like other offenders he has a ready "explanation" for his offense but he is quick to realize the inadequacy of his explanation.

Because it is committed by unusual offenders, individual embezzlement may be studied as an experimental control from which have been excluded many of the personal and cultural factors currently known to be associated with criminal behavior. Embezzlers are unusual as compared to other offenders in general but may not be unusual as compared to non-offenders whose behavior is a departure from their routines.⁸

The present theory is that the individual embezzler is a member of a competitive society who commits embezzlement as a consequence of tension-producing conflicts in the organismic, psychic, inter-personal, and cultural conditions of his adjustment. These four conditions are not separate and the theory emphasizes their unity. The organismic conditions are physiological, particularly hunger and sex and other functions largely regulated by the autonomic nervous system.⁹ Psychic conditions are both conscious and unconscious. Interpersonal conditions are face-to-face relations or temporal and spatial extensions of these.¹⁰ Cultural conditions are relatively impersonal societal arrangements which are not of the person's making even though they be as immediate as family or neighborhood traditions.¹¹ The theory holds that these conditions are united in the actual person and conflicts in any one or all of them give rise to a condition of general tension. The tension will be either internalized, effecting changes in physiological or

⁸ Redden has demonstrated the feasibility of predicting the embezzlement-prone person from experimental data. Elizabeth Redden, *Embezzlement, a Study of One Kind of Criminal Behavior, with Prediction Tables Based on Fidelity Insurance Records*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939.

⁹ "The foregoing survey has shown that not only states of the external environment itself, but responses of the organism to situations in the external environment, are associated with disturbances of the internal environment. This personal, individual climate, which we each carry about with us, must not change if we are to continue to be effective. In order that the constancy of the internal environment may be assured, therefore, every considerable change in the outer world and every considerable move in relation to the outer world must be attended by a rectifying process in the hidden world of the organism. The chief agency of this rectifying process, as we have just noted in many illustrations, is the sympathetic division of the autonomic system." W. B. Cannon, "The Autonomic Nervous System: An Interpretation," *Lancet*, 1109-1115, May 24, 1930, p. 1113. See also E. J. Kempf, *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality*, Washington, 1921, *passim*.

¹⁰ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York, 1909; H. S. Sullivan, "A Note on the Implications of Psychiatry, the Study of Interpersonal Relations, for Investigations in the Social Sciences," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 42: 846-861, May, 1937.

¹¹ "Appetite or even hunger is determined by the social milieu. Nowhere and never will man, however primitive, feed on the fruit of his environment. He always selects and rejects, produces and prepares. He does not depend on the physiological rhythm of hunger and satiety alone; his digestive processes are timed and trained by the daily routine of his tribe, nation, or class." B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 44: 938-964, May, 1939, p. 943.

psychic routines, or it will be externalized, effecting changes in behavior routines.¹² If embezzlement is a change in routine behavior the theory holds that it must be preceded by a state of generally increased tension. A condition of general tension, however, need not cause embezzlement or any other change in behavior routines since it may be discharged with satisfaction or may be internalized, depending upon the balance between internally and externally available alternatives.¹³

Each of the embezzlers examined has a unique etiology for his behavior. Although different determining conditions predominate in different cases, the following includes the common features which seem to be operative in almost every case.

1. Like all persons who associate and hence compete with others, the individual embezzler *restrains and represses biologically conditioned wishes* that are unsocialized and not in accord with (1) intimate primary group demands and constraints as operative in his family, neighborhood, occupational, recreational and other face-to-face associations; (2) cultural sanctions and taboos, the controlling values of the impersonal society to which he belongs.
2. Like in all persons, these wishes do not disappear but, according to a determinist view, remain unsatisfied and persist as *conscious and unconscious conflicts*.
3. Unlike every person, the conditions of his life history assign him a particular *position in the division of labor* which allows the possibility of embezzlement as an accommodation to conflict.
4. *A critical tension situation occurs* in which organismic, psychic, interpersonal and cultural conflicts activate and reinforce one another to effect a generally increased state of tension which is painful and from which the person seeks relief.
5. If the tension is not discharged or internalized and no alternative change in routine behavior appears subjectively available, *embezzlement is initiated* as an attempt to relieve the tension.
6. The decisive elements in the etiological process are the *lack of subjectively available alternatives* to embezzlement and the *relative amount of tension present* in the crisis situation, or in other words, the ratio between the intensity of desire for the goal or goals directly or indirectly achieved through the embezzlement, and the degree of satisfaction appearing subjectively available to the individual before the possible embezzlement may occur.¹⁴ Motives, means, ends

¹² Cannon coins the term "homeostasis" to refer to the "comfortable and liberating constancy of our internal environment," *op. cit.*, p. 1112. Claude Bernard had referred to this function as the *milieu interne*. Cannon further formulates the concepts "exteroffective" and "interoffective" to distinguish between physiological relations with the organism's outer and inner environments, respectively. The "involuntary" or "vegetative" function is the interofective which "plays its part by acting upon the heart, smooth muscles and glands in such ways as to keep the internal environment constant and fit for continued exteroffective action," p. 1115.

¹³ The physiological disturbances consequent to internalizing tension include peptic ulcer, colitis, migraine, bronchial asthma, urticaria, exophthalmic goiter, essential hypertension, and other psychoneurotic symptoms with somatic concomitants. For a review of this literature see A. H. Maslow and B. Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology*, New York, 1941, pp. 433-446.

¹⁴ Dodd, *op. cit.*, has statistically formulated the "simple tension theory" as $PD = VE$, where P is the population or person desiring a value, D is the intensity of desire for it, V is the

are identified. Except for the influence of external conditions, the new behavior is assumed to be subjectively selected because it is the most satisfying alternative to the tension.

All of the cases examined can be explained, more or less satisfactorily, in terms of this general etiology. The sequence allows for an almost unlimited choice of specific concepts and for alternative hypotheses for those cases which seem to emphasize one or the other source of tension. Although behavior in every case is assumed to be influenced by all four conditions, a few exceptional cases seem to show the predominant sources of tension to be in one or two of the four conditions. But in every case, without exception, *a critical tension situation of one kind or another invariably preceded the embezzlement behavior.* The critical tension situation is oriented to what is referred to here as the primary conflict and may occur in one or more of the four conditions of behavior which are postulated. The tension which seems to result from the primary conflict is as yet hardly felt and appears to be insufficient to determine the initiation of embezzlement behavior. At this stage in the process changes in routine behavior are not usually contemplated. Latent conflicts are then activated and reinforce the primary conflict to unite and bring about a significantly increased general state of tension. The act of embezzlement cannot be explained, that is, the determining conditions cannot be described, until all of the four conditions of possible conflict are explored and the supposed sources of tension ordered with reference to each other and to the resulting change in routine behavior. The coexistence of a number of such conflicts, primary and precipitating or secondary and reinforcing, must be discovered and described if the etiology of the behavior is to be adequately understood.

For example, consider the case of a middle aged embezzler of high average intelligence who showed no symptoms of mental disease. A large man, he was in good health except that his weight fluctuated seasonally more than the average person's: he gained about twenty pounds in the winter and lost this amount in the spring. He described himself as being more energetic at the heavier weight. He was happily married and the father of several children. Twenty years before the embezzlement his mother had strongly opposed his marriage and for this reason he left the small Canadian town in which he and his parents had lived and moved with his wife to Detroit. Here he reared his family, worked steadily as a minor executive in a wholesale house, where, for recreation, he directed employee theatrical productions. He was buying his home and there was no apparent sign of conflict. Then the department of which he was employed as head was merged with another department and he was asked to take a lesser position. This he refused to do, resigned, and immediately obtained another job earning less money but sufficient to pay expenses. On the new job he had no opportunity to direct theatrical productions. He had made elaborate plans for the winter theatre season with the other employees of the wholesale house but these plans had terminated with his resignation. He began to buy

available quantity of the desideratum or value, and E is the tension or the ratio of PD to V . The formulation is useful in that it allows for measurement but this, of course, is not attempted in the present study.

extravagant clothes for himself and failed to keep up with the payments on his home. His wife criticized this and he arranged to sleep in a separate room. He began to dream frequently of aggressions against his children and also dreamed that his mother admonished him to return to Canada. He began to be "nervous" and quarrelsome. He then began to embezzle, was detected, left the city but soon returned and gave himself up to the police. He said repeatedly that his embezzlement had hurt his wife and family more than it hurt himself. He was resigned to a prison sentence and was curious about prison life. He was released on probation but did not find regular employment and returned with his family to Canada.

In this case, the crisis or primary conflict is the sudden frustration of the apparently incidental interest in directing theatrical performances. The secondary or reinforcing conflicts happen to occur in this particular case in all four conditions of adjustment: (1) his seasonal increase in weight and energy as an individual; (2) his thoughts and dreams and his awareness of tension; (3) his interpersonal relations with his fellow employees, his parents, wife and children; (4) changes in the societal division of labor and culture which brought about the general depression and led the wholesale house to seek economies by merging departments. The primary conflict set in motion the secondary conflicts which reinforced each other in their tension producing effect and determined the behavior within the alternatives of the contemporary situation. The equilibrium was disturbed and new behavior made its appearance.

It may be emphasized that the primary conflict did not in itself bring about sufficient tension to disturb the previously established equilibrium. The phenomenon is analogous to a dozen or more men walking over a foot-bridge. If the rhythmic march of a couple of them starts the others walking in rhythm the bridge and men go crashing into the stream. A primary conflict may, so to speak, resonate with secondary conflicts with the result that overtones in the primary conflict are reinforced by activating the secondary conflicts all of which combine to cause a state of generally increased tension. This general etiology of embezzlement squares with a determinist view of behavior.

The conflicts giving rise to a general state of tension seem to have little or no time reference. Both primary and secondary conflicts may refer to past, present, or future events or even to events that never have or never will actually occur. The only requisite for this valence of tension is that at some time in the past or present the conflicts be subjectively perceived as real. Experience seems to indicate that past conflicts do not lose their intensity when newly activated; they seem to be little influenced by the passage of time. Thus the embezzler referred to above had "quite forgotten" the deep hostilities that were aroused at the time of his marriage. He "just happened to think about" this period of his life, and "was only dreaming" about his mother, wife, and children. It may seem unusual that he did not try to affiliate himself with an amateur theater group in which he might act as di-

rector. This fact may be compared with his interest in the recreational activities in prison. It should be added that he went this far in the discussion, yet did not broach the possibility of his directing play production work in the event of a prison sentence. The connection which we imply here is one of which the offender was never aware. It is because data of this nature are observed in all of our cases of embezzlement that the etiology of this behavior is said to be initiated by restrained and repressed wishes. Such is the kind of material that is observed largely in the third or subjective part of the interview.

One may already have gathered that this general etiology of embezzlement is drawn in part from psychoanalysis. Pleasure and pain are, of course, key concepts in psychoanalysis and are defined in terms of tension:

"In the psychoanalytical theory of the mind we take it for granted that the course of mental processes is automatically regulated by 'the pleasure principle': that is to say, we believe that any given process originates in an unpleasant state of tension and thereupon determines for itself such a path that its ultimate issue coincides with a relaxation of this tension, that is, with avoidance of 'pain' or with production of pleasure."¹⁵

The feeling of tension should be related to Freud's conception of anxiety which he holds to be basic to all symptom formation in the psychoneuroses.¹⁶ There is a close relation between anxiety and the wish to take flight. One is impressed with the embezzler's tendency to flight when detection seems imminent. This means that the embezzlement is usually only a temporary accommodation to the increased tension.¹⁷ In the present formulation, however, the individual embezzler is not regarded primarily as a neurotic. This seems to be only a matter of terminology because the individual embezzler and the neurotic are certainly alike insofar as they are both in a state of increased tension. Indeed, it may be useful for purposes of research to assume that a state of tension precedes all marked or radical changes in routine behavior whether the new behavior be criminal or non-criminal, a neurotic symptom. This is not to employ the concept of tension as a single explanatory factor. The present formulation emphasizes the critical coexistence of manifold sources of tension, and the multi-variable alternatives of behavior in which the tension occurs must, of course, be recognized as also determining and limiting the particular changes in behavior which result.

Group embezzlement is a different kind of phenomenon and seems to re-

¹⁵ S. Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, London, 1922, p. 1. Freud cites the theory of pleasure and pain developed in psychophysics by G. T. Fechner "which in essentials coincides with that forced upon us by psychoanalytic work," p. 3.

¹⁶ S. Freud, *The Problem of Anxiety*, New York, 1936.

¹⁷ Needless to say, innumerable other embezzlements succeed in discharging the tension whether or not they are detected.

quire a separate etiological statement.¹⁸ Group embezzlers operate on a more or less organized basis and organization tends to restrict the apparent spontaneity of individual embezzlement. It seems that several or more persons may together engage in this behavior without a preceding increase in tension. It may be that the determining tension is present collectively, that the members of the embezzling group share the tension by dividing it. This seems most doubtful, however, because in these cases the initiation of embezzlement did not seem to constitute a departure in the established routines of the persons involved.

A case of group embezzlement illustrates the conditions that may occur in group behavior. The offense involved the operation of a bucket shop by a dominating and enterprising father and his three married sons. All four men had their own families and separate households. Their method of operation was to take orders from their clients to buy and sell stocks but no stocks were actually bought or sold. Due to the daily fluctuations of the market they could make a profit by "buying" at the highest price quoted for the day and "selling" at the lowest price. Occasionally they lost on a transaction but managed to keep well ahead of the game for several years. These men were interviewed separately and together for fifty or sixty hours over a period of two weeks. No adequate sources of tension could be recognized for the group behavior in accordance with the expectations described above for the individual embezzler. But an abundance of individual and interpersonal as well as cultural conditions were recognized. The father started the business and operated legitimately for a number of years. After his sons married and established homes of their own his relations to his wife became strained for several reasons. Concurrently, he neglected his business which was becoming less and less profitable. A number of other factors entered in which gave rise to a domestic crisis and the etiology given above for individual embezzlement could easily be recognized. He began to report purchases and sales to his customers without consummating them. Operating in this way his profits increased. He then employed his sons, one by one, gradually taking them into his confidence. They had always loved their father and he rationalized their new roles for them. When the profits began to diminish, due to general business conditions, the son who loved his father least "accidentally" committed a business indiscretion which led to the arrest of the whole group. If the sons had not loved their father they might have reported him to the police at once, and the whole phenomenon of group embezzlement might not have occurred. The previously established routine relations between the father and his sons continued but became criminalistic as embezzlement behavior largely because of factors within the psychology of the father.

This instance of group embezzlement is hardly representative. Other cases of group embezzlement seem to be adequately explained in terms of differential association. In other instances the offense does not constitute a departure from routines, is logically identical, on the one hand, to routine behavior which is lawful in the sense that it is not punished by the Courts,

¹⁸ Of 10,200 embezzlers, Redden found less than 5 percent who "embezzled by collusion with others from within or without the organization in which they were employed." Redden, *op cit.*, p. 38.

and on the other hand to the routine behavior of thieves in the underworld. But the case described, even though it is not numerically representative, allows for a closer connection between the theories of differential association and of tension. If the antecedents of behavior in general may be subsumed under the four conditions, organismic, psychic, interpersonal and cultural, then it may be inferred that systematic or routine behavior is primarily conditioned by cultural factors while departures from routine tend to be a consequent of tension arising from organismic, psychic, and interpersonal conditions more than from the cultural level of adjustment. Routine or systematic behavior may be described quite impersonally as a cultural condition, the person dropping into the background. But unsystematic behavior or departures from routine require an analysis of the interaction of biological and personal factors as well. Behavior in general then constitutes a continuum between these extremes but always involving processes of both differential association and tension. Because behavior in general tends to be systematic or routinized, criminal behavior may also be predominately routinized but probably not in the same proportion as is non-criminal behavior. One may expect to find more tension-producing conflicts among criminals than among non-criminals, although such a statement is too general to have much significance.

The tension theory is applicable to offenses other than embezzlement which constitute departures from routine systems of behavior such as, for example, many thefts, most homicides, rapes and other assaults. It need hardly be said that these offenses, like all human behavior, never occur without significant cultural influence. Like the concepts of the behavior system and differential association, research oriented to the concept of tension should be concerned with bringing together relevant etiological observations of behavior and should not be limited by the artificial restrictions of particular offenses. The tension theory is supplementary and in no sense in opposition to the theory of differential association. Why a given unit of behavior is criminal is only a part of the total picture, and criminality may never be realistically observed except in its personal and cultural context.

Official Reports and Proceedings

CANCELLATION OF THE CLEVELAND MEETING

In view of the urgent pleas of the Office of Defense Transportation that civilian travel be curtailed between December 18 and January 10, the Administration Committee has just voted to cancel the meeting of the American Sociological Society which was to have been held in Cleveland, December 29-31. Similar action has been taken by most of the other Social Science Societies which were planning to meet with us.

Last summer the Office of Defense Transportation encouraged us to go ahead with our meetings, but the transportation situation has now changed radically. The ODT has issued a request to all Federal agencies asking that they cancel leaves involving travel from December 18 to January 10, and asking that no meetings be called by government agencies during that period. This alone would seriously interfere with our program and the attendance of government employees at the meeting.

All those who are preparing papers for the meeting program are invited to send them to the editor of the *American Sociological Review* (Prof. Joseph K. Folsom, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.). Normally the *Review* has first claim on all such papers but under these circumstances the *Review* waives the claim to priority. As customary, the *Review* does not guarantee the publication of papers but reserves the right to reject them or ask for condensation.

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *President*

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ON WARTIME ADJUSTMENTS IN COLLEGE SOCIOLOGY TEACHING*

It is now becoming clear that the American people, including a large proportion of the so-called educated classes, were not intellectually or emotionally prepared for the world situation out of which the present conflict has arisen. Nor is there much evidence of realistic understanding on their part of the profound social changes that are now being brought about by the war effort, in our own country and abroad, and which are already laying the groundwork for postwar reconstruction on a global scale.

Recognition of the bewildered and confused state of the public mind with respect to these matters has naturally caused many people to wonder whether educational institutions, and particularly colleges, have been doing their job properly. The college is now being criticized, first, for not giving its students an adequate understanding of the distinctive traditions and characteristics of American culture, and, in the second place, for its failure to provide students with a social philosophy equal to the evaluation of current trends of change. College graduates, it is said, do not have a point of view on the issues involved in creating or maintaining a democratic industrial society and only the vaguest of stereotyped notions about intercultural problems, war aims, and the basis for postwar reconstruction.

Challenge of the Social Sciences. To the extent to which these charges are correct (and even educators are willing to admit some culpability) they constitute something of an imperative for reorganizing the college curriculum. Major responsibility both for past failures and for future changes must rest upon the social sciences as a

* See p. 696, October *Review*, regarding appointment of this committee.

whole, and perhaps especially on sociology. Sociology may be *the* synthetic social science to only a few of its practitioners but all agree that its field of operation is wider than that of most other social disciplines; sociologists characteristically deal with cultural patterns as wholes and with social problems in broad perspective. Since the major aspects of current strategy and postwar reconstruction have to be planned in relation to a set of general values or objectives and implemented by scientific data, the combination of ideological orientation and scientific approach which characterizes sociology should be indispensable in setting up a curriculum for the times.

On the other hand, it should be obvious that sociologists will not be in a position to cope adequately with the full range of problems now bombarding the public mind without the eager cooperation of the economists, historians, political scientists, social psychologists, anthropologists, and economic geographers. Whenever possible sociologists should therefore further the breakup of academic lines of cleavage between the several disciplines. Instruction should be focused on the needs of students and the social problems with which our society is faced, rather than on the logical structure of a systematic body of material labeled anthropology, sociology, economics, or the like. Research may continue to be specialized by academic departments, if that is convenient, but interpretation of the results of research to students must be comprehensive and relevant to the emerging new world order in its full complexity. Most social scientists are willing to pay lip service to the idea of such collaboration but they seldom reach the point of organizing courses across departmental lines.

The Need for Explicit Personal Judgment. If sociologists and other social scientists are to deal helpfully with the issues that face students today they must be willing to interpret their material in the light of a relatively explicit social philosophy. If the professor cannot develop some principles by which to distinguish between desirable and undesirable social change, he can hardly expect his students to do so or to be prepared to take part actively and intelligently in the social adjustments that must follow this war. This is of course not to suggest that a teacher is justified in distorting or suppressing facts in the interests of his particular ideology. Any compromise with the highest standards of scholarship could only result in disaster. There must be scrupulous respect for all known facts and care never to claim that anything is "scientifically proven" or "accepted" unless the profession as a whole would back the statement. While the teacher should be encouraged to report hypotheses and to indicate his personal preference among them, he must not let his students confuse hypothesis and fact.

The teacher must further be open-minded toward new evidence and not only tolerant of opposing hypotheses offered by his students, but deliberately bent on eliciting them and helping students to muster the good arguments in their support. At the same time, not even a professor can help revealing his own bias to students in some form or other. In the past, he has often been ashamed when conscious of having done so and inclined to regret his departure from "objectivity." The point is here made that he should so depart, quite deliberately and purposefully, only taking care to make it clear when he does so. Students need and are entitled to have their professors' own best judgments.

Value and the Social Process. It is natural that a war of such far-reaching effect as the current one should have caused social scientists, and especially sociologists, to reflect on their role in relation to students. Today some are wondering whether, in our attempt to maintain a detached attitude toward social phenomena, we may not have fostered scepticism and indifference or robbed our students of the power of conviction. While it may possibly be conceded that a relatively small group of

scholars may enjoy the luxury of intellectual aloofness from the affairs of men, the great body of educated men and women must have faith in some specific values as the basis of our cultural heritage.

Most social scientists believe that human attitudes toward the social as well as the physical world determine human behavior and that it consequently does make a difference what students are taught in this area. It is scarcely necessary to state that in all social behavior valuations are present and are in fact part of the data of sociology. Although anthropology and comparative sociology serve to reveal the relativity of social values, these disciplines nevertheless emphasize that values of some sort are characteristic of all social behavior. The teacher of social science is concerned with analyzing the process by which the individual is socialized, that is to say, the manner in which his behavior is influenced and developed by the social norms characteristic of his particular culture. This process may be considered deterministic but the reality of the moulding values cannot be denied.

This being the case, it follows that students must be made acutely aware of the particular values and norms inherent in our own culture. They should likewise be taught to analyze and understand the processes whereby these values are maintained and even shaped. Such an approach will throw light on social conflict and social disorganization; it will enable students to understand changing values and norms. Moreover, since social science is here claimed to be more than mere contemplation of process, it will help them to see how the best values of our culture may be more fully realized. If everybody can be made fully conscious of the dynamic norms of the American tradition, the proper public opinion will have been developed to enable us to face the future with the essential intellectual tools we need.

Needed Emphasis in the Social Science Curriculum. If the general point of view that has been outlined is accepted, what specific implications will it have for the sociology curriculum in colleges? The committee does not feel it part of its task to present detailed course syllabi or even to list the topic areas in which courses should be organized. The situation varies too greatly from college to college to make such proposals worth while; each institution will already have a social science staff with given interests and capabilities which will be doing certain things and will be available or definitely not available to do others. In most cases needed readjustments will not come through adding a program of "war courses" but rather through changes in content and emphasis in courses that are already being given. The committee feels that these courses might well be animated to a greater degree by the value interest discussed in preceding paragraphs. It feels also that certain areas and problems that are involved in postwar reconstruction should be given more adequate coverage and that in most instances these topics fall within the broad province for which sociologists are at least in part responsible.

An illustrative list of these topics needing greater emphasis is given below. The list is not meant to be systematic nor is it to be regarded as a comprehensive check list for measuring the adequacy of any departmental offerings. Many of the areas suggested are already covered on many campuses; others are hardly yet defined and are included as stimulants to the ingenuity of the teacher rather than as headings that refer to already well-organized bodies of subject matter. Taken as a whole, however, it is hoped that the topics listed will give a concrete picture of a kind of sociological study that will help to make undergraduates more specifically fitted for the world they will grow up into. If they cannot remake this civilization, neither they or it have good prospects.

A. Sociological Areas Involved in Mobilization for Total War

1. Sociology of military life
2. Principles and methods of psychological warfare

3. Civilian morale—measurement of; techniques for maintaining
 4. Role in the war of various social institutions: the family, education, the community
 5. New roles for women and youths in wartime
 6. War demography
 7. Minority group roles in wartime
- B. Sociological aspects of postwar international planning
1. Comparative study of the great modern cultural systems (Russian, Chinese, Euro-American, Latin American, etc.)
 2. Consideration of the world as a cultural unit—common elements in the cultures of Europe, Asia, and America
 3. National population trends and policies
 4. International communication
 - Language
 - Communication agencies
 - Techniques for creating world-wide public opinions
 5. Folkways of diplomacy—the diplomatic code and its effect on international accommodation and assimilation
 6. Transnational groups now existing
- C. Sociological aspects of postwar national planning
1. The character of American nationality—the American ethos
 2. Systems of belief with respect to the nature of the desired postwar society
 3. Political sociology of a democratic society
 - Role of interest groups in politics
 - Role of the expert in modern democratic society (emphasis on the role of the social scientist)
 - Techniques for measuring public opinion
 - "Natural" geographic units in government—local community, region, nation
 - Role of administrative elites
 4. Sociology of economic reorganization
 - Industrial morale—relations between labor, management, owners in the factory
 - Proposals for accommodating interests of laborers, managers, consumers, owners
 - Social security systems
 - The class structure of the U. S.
 - The cooperative movement
 5. Ethnic and racial group problems in the U. S.
 - Race conflict in the United States—trends and possibilities in acculturation and assimilation
 - The future of sectionalism in the U. S.
 - Antisemitism
 6. Other postwar institutional reorganization
 - New roles for youth
 - The revival of the family
 - Education in the service of the postwar society
 7. National population trends and policies
 8. The methods of national planning
 - Planning agencies
 - Techniques of planning
 - The relation of planning to social action

RUTH REED, *Catholic University*

HELEN DAVIS, *American Council on Education*

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, *Howard University*

CARL JOSLYN, *University of Maryland*

JULIAN L. WOODWARD, *Cornell University (on leave to Office of War Information), Chairman.*

CURRENT ITEMS

The *Review* hopes to increase its usefulness by publishing condensed reports upon significant research not yet published, and concerning which timely information may be useful; announcements of research needs and opportunities; new suggestions regarding concepts, teaching methods, and the like.

We are eager to have by December 20 information regarding research projects, whether conducted by government or other agencies, which may offer opportunities for decentralized participation by faculty or students in several localities or institutions.

In this *Current Items* section there will be space not only for these *Research Notes*, and for *News and Announcements* as usual, but also for the championship of significant values or policies through concise, pithy argument, which we may place under a third subdivision called *Opinion*. [Ed.]

RESEARCH NOTES

THE MORMON CHURCH AND UTAH POLITICS: AN ABSTRACT OF A STATISTICAL STUDY

ARNOLD M. ROSE

The fact that over 60 percent of Utah's population belongs to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (popularly known as the Mormon Church) makes it possible to measure a church's influence on politics, which can hardly be done for other regions where religious affiliation is more heterogeneous. The outstanding observation is that even when the Church leaders take sides on some issue or candidate, this does not guarantee victory. An outstanding example of the Church's defeat occurred in 1938, when its leaders' dislike of the New Deal and of Democratic Senator Elbert D. Thomas led to the Church-sponsored candidacy of Republican Franklin S. Harris, President of Brigham Young University. Despite a very strong campaign against him on the part of the Church leaders and others—which included an attack on alleged demoralizing and irreligious effects of the New Deal—Thomas was re-elected with 56 percent of the State's votes.

Nevertheless there are four types of influence that the Church has exerted on elections. Attention is restricted in this study to the last decade and to national and state elections. First, in elections such as the Presidential elections, when Church leaders do not take a definite stand and neither of the candidates is a Mormon, there is a significant negative correlation between percent Mormon and percent voting Democratic, using counties as units. It is not possible to determine exactly how many Mormon voters who vote Republican consistently cause this correlation, but, since as many as 70 percent of all voters in Utah voted for Roosevelt in 1936, we are sure that they are not over half of all Mormons who vote, and it is probable that they are much fewer. Part of this correlation is due to the fact that Mormons are home-owners to a greater extent than non-Mormons, and there is probably a tendency for home-owners to vote Republican regardless of religion. Tests with several dozen other quantitative indices—including ten which were significantly correlated with religious affiliation—convince the author that they have little effect

on the correlation between religious affiliation and voting behavior. It is therefore very likely, as a second type of influence, that there is a small group of Mormons who vote Republican consistently because they are Mormons.

Besides this group there is another group of Mormons who vote the way the Church leaders tell them to when these leaders take a public position in regard to the election. If the Senatorial election of 1938 is a good indicator, this group comprises about 3 to 6 percent of the total voting population. This figure was determined by comparing the votes for Senator with the votes for candidates for other offices in the same election, candidates who received neither the support nor the opposition of the Church leaders. Of this 3 to 6 percent, a small proportion—in the Senatorial election of 1932 about 0.6 per cent of the total voting population—vote for a candidate because he is an outstanding Mormon (when his opponent is a Mormon but is inactive in the affairs of the Church), even when the Church leaders do not take sides with respect to the candidates.

In a word, the Mormon Church seems to be far from being completely dominant in Utah politics. It does, however, have some effect, and, in an election so close that 5, or perhaps even 10, percent of the voters could determine the outcome, it could be decisive.

THE COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY: A NOTE ON A POTENTIAL NEW FIELD OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH*

HEINRICH INFELD

Rural Settlement Institute

Cooperation appears to attract more and more the attention of social scientists, yet our knowledge of it, as May and Doob point out, is as yet "scattered, spotty, and even chaotic."¹ Helpful in this situation may prove to be a distinction derived from the observed practice of cooperation. It is the distinction between "segmental" (partial) and "comprehensive" (all-inclusive) cooperation. Segmental cooperation associates people to serve *like* interests; it is the kind practiced in consumers', producers', marketing, processing cooperatives, formed for the better attainment of certain economic ends. Comprehensive cooperation is based upon *common* interests,² it is the kind practiced in a community where all essential interests of human life are being satisfied in a cooperative way. The great majority of such communities now existing are rural settlements.

Experiments in the establishment of cooperative communities have been numerous, particularly here in America, and more successful in certain respects than is commonly assumed.³ These experiments have emerged, however, only in recent years from the "alchemistic" stage of searching after a universal cure for all evils of human society, and have entered upon a period of controlled experimentation designed to discover solutions for certain urgent problems of rural economy. The best demonstration of the realistic nature of this new epoch in the history of cooperative communities may be found in the fact that several leading national governments,

* This note is essentially a condensation from a monograph entitled *Cooperative Rural Settlements, A New Field of Social Research*, prepared by the present writer with the collaboration of J. W. Eaton, to be published in the monograph series of *Sociometry*, Beacon, N. Y.

¹ Mark A. May and Leonard W. Doob, *Competition and Cooperation*, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 25, April, 1937, p. 141.

² For the distinction between "like" and "common" interests see R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, N. Y., 1940, p. 30.

³ See Ralph Albertson, "A Survey of Mutualistic Communities in America," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. 34, October, 1936, pp. 375-445.

including the United States, have made the establishment of such communities part of their official program. While the authors of *Competition and Cooperation* had to direct the investigator to "contemporary Palestine and Soviet Russia," one can now stay right here in this country and find "a promising field in which he can study in great detail this form of cooperation."⁴ Little noticed by the general public and even by many social scientists, a number of large-scale cooperative farms have been established since 1937 in different states. There were at the last count 21 such farms in operation, ranging in size from 204 to 6,209 acres and in membership from five to 150 families. These cooperative farms are part of the Farm Security Administration's cooperative program, which includes also the so-called "Land Leasing Cooperative," the "Individual Homestead Communities," the "Rurban or Greenbelt-Communities," and the "Subsistence Homesteads." Of particular value for sociological research is the fact that in the vicinity of the cooperative farms the F.S.A. has established many units of the family-type farm, thus providing opportunities for illuminating comparisons. These F.S.A. settlements offer a rich and novel field to the student of society, be his particular concern with farm management, family research, economics, adult education, social work or recreation.

Three special values appear in this field of research. (1) These cooperative settlements offer themselves as the ideal—simple but at the same time comprehensive—social systems which research workers seek. Most of the basic conditions of these communities are the same as those determining any human society; they become, however, much more intelligible because of the reduced size of the whole picture. For example, population and group cohesion are reduced here to concrete and simplified terms of "membership" and "cooperative ability." As such they can be subjected to a thorough investigation on the sociological as well as on the psychological level.

(2) These cooperative communities challenge the ability of sociology to contribute to the solution of society's urgent problems. The experience of these settlements may well prove of great value to those concerned with the larger task of resettlement, which will be a major part of our post-war problems. They present thus to the sociologist whose ambition goes beyond mere fact finding an opportunity to develop the expertness which has practical utility.

(3) The study of these communities may yield insights applicable to problems of other forms of social organization, such as industrial organization, labor unions and civic administration. Crucial observations which cannot easily be made in conflict situations may be possible to make in situations where cooperation is the ideal.

Research of this sort can obviously be carried on best by investigators who, although interested in different aspects of the study, are willing to coordinate their efforts. This note has just such future coordination in mind and is presented here for the sake of contacting those who are interested or who may already be working in this new field of research. Suggestions and communications are invited and may be directed to the Rural Settlement Institute, c/o Heinrich Infeld, Creek Road, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.⁵

⁴ May and Doob, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁵ The Rural Settlement Institute, of which the present writer is in charge, is a privately endowed research institute explicitly organized for the purpose of fostering research in this new field. Its first independent publication is the *Research Guide on Cooperative Group Farming*, prepared by J. W. Eaton and Saul M. Katz, with a preface by Edward A. Norman, all members of the R.S.I., published by H. W. Wilson Company, N. Y., 1942. Other publications are in preparation. The files of the Institute contain probably the most complete material brought together in one place on cooperative communities in the United States and abroad. They are at the disposal of all those who want to make use of them for their studies.

ATTITUDES: A NOTE ON THE CONCEPT AND ITS RESEARCH CONTEXT

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Attitude research has been stultified by a vague definition of the concept of attitude and its inadequately functional role in sociology. Major usages of the concept are as: (1) a state of the organism, which places it outside the sociological frame of reference; (2) certain behaviors or opinions, which make its use unnecessary; (3) an end product of social experience; and (4) a motive for or factor in subsequent conduct. The first two usages may be neglected for the reasons given. The last two dominate the vast published literature.

Considered as products, attitude research terminates with (1) the identification, classification and, sometimes, the measurement of attitudes, and (2) a systematic statement of the conditions of their development. The meaning of attitudes thus studied is technically limited to or constituted by the antecedents. Usually no consequences are verified and thereby incorporable in the meaning. Hence attitudes are not instrumental for predictive purposes and their analysis is, from the scientific point of view, truncated.

Considered as factors, attitudes are given an instrumental role, but the procedure of their identification, etc., is remarkably private—frequently intuitive. The attitudes used to explain behaviors or facilitate their understanding are derived from the observation of the behaviors without the prior establishment independently and reliably of an attitude-behavior relationship. Thus the sources of conduct are postulated rather than explained.

The inadequacies of both the product and the factor approaches would be corrected if attitudes were given a purely heuristic role as mediating theoretically between previous experience and subsequent conduct. *A priori* dicta concerning the "nature" of attitudes "as real and substantial ingredients of human nature"¹ apart from this role lead only to confusion. To bridge the gap noted, the following definition is suggested: *an attitude is the probability of the occurrence of a defined behavior (or social action) in a defined situation.* This definition may appear flat, empty of the luscious content of traditional definitions but analysis shows that all the relevant aspects of both commonsense notions and sociological conceptions of attitudes are included, and that it fits squarely and clearly into a research context for which it is designed—as a construct, not as a relatively raw datum.

The "man-on-the-street," asked what he understands by the statement, "Jones has an anti-Semitic attitude," might easily reply, "Jones would like as not start a pogrom if he could get away with it." This is a prediction couched in probability terms of a defined behavior in a very vaguely defined situation! The standard sociological definitions of attitude imply (1) a dynamic aspect, or threshold of action, (2) a direction or valence, (3) an object, value or situation. Each of these aspects is adequately represented in the foregoing definition: the dynamic aspect is present measurably in the probability value; the element of direction is included in the definition of the social action contingently predicted, which may be specific or general; the object, value, etc., is part of the defined situation. Some interesting conceptual implications for social psychology may be found by varying the scope of the elements in the behavior or situation, but we cannot pursue them here.

Some implications for future research are clear. The etiological study of attitudes

¹ G. W. Allport, in C. Murchison (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 1935, p. 839.

will be designed to answer the question: How change the probability of certain behaviors-in-situations. Sociologists using attitudes as explanations will have to demonstrate that they are not indulging in circularity of reasoning. Research in the identification and measurement of what may be judged significant attitudes will continue as at present. However, attitudes will no longer be studied for their own sake, but only for their utility in prediction. Attitude measurement will pass from the status of a mathematical toy to that of an economical tool obviating extensive historical and case analyses.

A few beginnings have been made. In the various studies in predicting social behavior developed largely on an actuarial basis to date, whenever there can be assigned to a given person a probability of "success" of any defined type, there we have in very general terms the basis for describing an attitude. In a few other instances the correlation of subsequent overt behavior with attitude-test behavior has proved reliable,² but for the most part the labor of making such verificatory researches has proved too discouraging. Any systematic development of such programs of research must wait until attitude research is no longer directed at "agents" or "motives" of behavior or "states" of the organism, but at the reliable prediction of contingent social behavior.³

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

INCLUDING NOTES ON SOCIOLOGISTS IN WAR SERVICE

To give the record a certain apparent completeness to date, a few items regarding service in the armed forces, given in the October issue, are repeated here. Future issues will publish addenda to the following information, which has been assembled in this issue through special inquiry. The *Review* welcomes further news and desires to be during the war and at all times an instrument of communication on the "common human" level, and of *esprit de corps*, among sociologists.

The services to the war effort are so varied and interlocked that we have abandoned any attempt to classify them except under the agencies and institutions. While many are in the armed forces and others working as civilians for federal agencies, still others shoulder extra burdens in college or community. For obvious reasons we can usually describe more fully the work of those in civilian capacities, but when a sociologist or any other human being is mentioned simply as "Private, 128th Infantry," we do not forget the large meaning of the few words, for sociology, for our country, and for the democratic way of life. [Ed.]

U. S. Department of Agriculture. Karl A. Shafer entered on active duty in the Army May, 1941, as a 1st Lieutenant. At last report he was stationed at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, as Personnel Consultant, Headquarters, 6th Division. Joseph R. Cates entered the Army as a private in September, 1942, and was to report to Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

U. S. Department of State announces appointment of the General Advisory Committee for 1942-43. The purpose of this Committee is to advise the Department, through the Division of Cultural Relations, on general policy in the planning and execution of the program of cultural relations, and to serve as a coordinating body for the other advisory committees. The members of the Committee are Robert G. Caldwell, Ben M. Cherrington, Stephen P. Duggan, Waldo G. Leland, The Hon. Archibald MacLeish, Carl H. Milam, Beardsley Ruml,

² See, for examples, G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, 1937, pp. 910 f.

³ Space limitations have precluded the illustration and documentation of many assertions made in this Note. The writer will send a longer mimeographed statement to anyone interested in discussing the matter.

James T. Shotwell, George N. Shuster, Commissioner John W. Studebaker, and Vice-President Henry A. Wallace.

Joint Committee on Latin American Studies. The National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council have appointed a Joint Committee on Latin American Studies. The membership of this Joint Committee until June 30, 1943 is as follows: Robert Redfield, University of Chicago (chairman); Wendell Bennett, Yale University (executive secretary); J. G. Beebe-Center, Harvard University; W. R. Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; Earl J. Hamilton, Duke University; Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Clarence H. Haring, Harvard University; Preston E. James, Office of the Coordinator of Information; Irving A. Leonard, Brown University; George C. Vaillant, University Museum, Philadelphia.

The above membership includes the chairmen of the ACLS-SSRC Committee on Latin American Studies, the NRC Committee on Latin American Geography and Geology, the NRC Committee on Latin American Anthropology, the NRC Committee on Latin American Psychology, and the Chairman of the Institute of Andean Research. Aside from the membership of the committees represented the Joint Committee plans to name special consultants in fields not represented in the personnel of the committee.

The Joint Committee has been established to promote Latin American studies in all fields of knowledge, to promote and improve education and training in the Latin American fields, especially at the upper academic levels. It will serve as an advisory agency for all projects dealing with Latin America which come to the attention of the three supporting councils. The Joint Committee is prepared and willing to serve as an advisory agency, within its competence, to the various agencies of the Government, and to assist such agencies in the promotion of inter-American intellectual and cultural relations and in the planning and execution of projects. It plans to encourage the effective utilization of the facilities and personnel of the existing institutions of higher learning in this country, and in Latin America.

Twentieth Century Fund. Postwar America will easily be able to produce enough to provide every man, woman and child in the country with a decent minimum standard in the "Big Five": food, clothing, housing, education and health care—according to a special report which Stuart Chase is now completing for The Twentieth Century Fund. He calls his report *Goals for America: A Budget of Our Needs and Resources*. The Fund, in the hope of stimulating public interest in the consideration and solution of postwar problems, is underwriting a series of exploratory reports by Stuart Chase, but leaves Mr. Chase entirely free to reach his own conclusions.

Alabama College. Montevallo. Edward C. Solomon will be Assistant Professor of Sociology. He has been at Vanderbilt University.

Beloit College. Donald E. Webster has taken a permanent post as Senior Social Science Analyst and Deputy Chief of the Near East Section, Division of Special Information, Office of Strategic Services. Lloyd V. Ballard has returned to his duties at the College after a year's leave of absence during which he worked with the Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare as Assistant Director of the Division of Child Welfare in the development of a statewide program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Local programs were set up in some twelve selected counties and communities.

Bennington College. George Lundberg is Consultant on Population Research, National Resources Planning Board.

Bowdoin College. Elbridge Sibley is engaged in statistical work with the U. S. Bureau of the Budget in Washington. Burton W. Taylor is an instructor in the Harvard Naval Service School with the rank of Lieutenant (J. G.).

University of British Columbia. C. W. Topping has been second-in-command of the University of British Columbia Contingent, Canadian Officers' Training Corps (C.O.T.C.) with the rank of Major since the start of the war. He has also continued to carry on his regular duties as Director of Courses in Social Work and in teaching general sociology (family, crimi-

nology, introduction to social work, anthropology, and urban community, some of these alternating).

Catholic University of America. Dr. Walter J. Marx has been commissioned in the Army Air Corps for service in Alaska. Percy A. Robert has been appointed Special Advisor to the Director of National Selective Service, Dominion of Canada. Both are on leave from the University for the duration.

University of Chicago. Robert C. Jones of Cuba, former sociology graduate student at the University of Chicago has been appointed to the staff of the Pan American Union. The social sciences in Latin America and the applied arts to which they are basic will be the field of his special interest. Ensign Robert F. Winch, after having attended the Naval Training School at Hanover, N. H. during the summer for "training and indoctrination" is to return to Dartmouth in November as Instructor in Navigation.

College of the City of New York. Charles H. Page is serving as Lieutenant (J. G.) in the United States Naval Reserve. William Henderson is a lieutenant in the U. S. Army Air Forces. Gerhart Saenger has completed a study of "Morale Among the Foreign Born" as Director of the Committee for Social Research affiliated with the Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton, N. J., on request of the Office of War Information.

Clark University. Louis Balsam has been appointed Assistant Regional Rationing Administrator for the New England states, with headquarters in Boston, Mass. He and his family will make their home at 35 Lee Street, Cambridge, Mass.

University of Connecticut. Victor A. Rapport, as an active captain in the R.O.T.C., was drafted into military service two years ago, and "no doubt will remain there for the duration of the war." Professor Henry Stetler, formerly connected with Temple University, is substituting for him. In mid-summer Nathan L. Whetten was granted a leave of absence for one year for service with the State Department in the city of Mexico; and E. G. Burrows a similar leave for employment with the Intelligence Service of the War Department. Walter Hirsch, graduate student in sociology, entered the Army in April.

Cornell University. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Louis Guttman are serving with the Research Division, Special Services Branch, War Department; Frederick F. Stephan is Chief, Statistical Analysis and Coordination Service, War Manpower Commission, and Julian L. Woodward is with the Division of Program Surveys, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture. Cottrell, Stephan, and Woodward are giving full time and are on leave from Cornell.

East Texas State Teachers College. J. K. Johnson has entered the Army as a captain on duty in the Adjutant General's Department.

Harvard University. Carle C. Zimmerman is with the U. S. Army Air Corps; Edward Y. Hartshorne with the Division of Special Information, Library of Congress; George C. Homans with the U. S. Navy.

Margaret T. Cussler and Mary L. de Givie have been working since November, 1941, as Assistant Technical Advisers to the Nutrition Division, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Federal Security Agency. They have been doing field studies (to be used as doctoral dissertations) in three southeastern states on food habits and their social sanctions and the development of community nutrition programs. In July, they were sent to Syracuse, N. Y., by several interested government agencies—Nutrition Division, OPA, OCD, AMA—to observe a demonstration of the use of the "block" system for carrying an emergency food message.

University of Illinois. Robert W. Janes is now Private, Service Company, 377th Infantry, Camp Swift, Texas; and T. P. Yeatman is Private, 358th BB Squadron, 303rd BB Group, Alamogordo, New Mexico.

State University of Iowa. Charles D. Roberts and John L. Gould have joined the armed forces.

E. B. Reuter represented the Society at the inauguration of Charles Albert Anderson as President of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Thursday, November 12.

Kalamazoo State Hospital. Joel B. Montague has left his position as Psychiatric Social Worker here to enlist in the Medical Corps of the Navy.

University of Kansas. Carroll D. Clark, Chairman of the Department, has been appointed Captain in the Army Air Corps; during his absence, Seba Eldridge is serving as acting Chairman. Esther E. Twente served the past summer on the staff of the Institute for Community Service Training of the University of Texas, giving courses in case work and in services to families and individuals. The research volume on *Development of Collective Enterprise* by Seba Eldridge and associates will be issued shortly by the University of Kansas Press. Collaborators include Dr. Clark, Dr. McCluggage, Miss Twente and Dr. Hilden Gibson of the Sociology Department, besides several members of other social science departments, and social scientists at other institutions.

Mabel Elliott spent the summer working on a textbook in Criminology. Her monograph on "The Nature and Extent of Divorce" was published recently in the volume *Marriage and the Family*, edited by Becker and Hill (Heath & Co.). Loren C. Eiseley spent the past summer at the American Museum of Natural History, completing a project in physical anthropology on a SSRC post-doctoral fellowship.

With the merger (fall 1942) of the **Kansas City Teachers College** and the **Kansas City Junior College** both municipal institutions operated by the city Board of Education, Guy V. Price who had been chairman of the Division of Social Science in the Teachers College, will take over the teaching of most of the courses in sociology in the merged institutions, including a special course on Social Planning and the War. A chapter on "Juvenile Delinquency," by Price, appears in the volume *Sociological Foundations of Education*, edited by Roucek and published by Crowell, 1942.

Linfield College. William C. Smith spent the summer with the American Red Cross as Assistant Field Director at Fort Lewis, Washington.

Louisiana State University. T. Lynn Smith has been on leave since February, 1942, to work as a representative of the U. S. State Department in Brazil, having headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. In his absence Professor E. H. Lott was made head of the department. Vernon J. Parenton, whose doctoral research project involving field work in France was interrupted by the outbreak of the war, this summer enlisted in the Navy. He has been commissioned Ensign. In the absence of Parenton, Roy E. Hyde is serving as visiting professor in the department.

This department is also fortunate in having as visiting professor (through our special General Education Board arrangement) for the academic year 1942-43 Rupert B. Vance from the University of North Carolina. Harold Hoffsommer of the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, has been granted a three-year leave of absence to serve as Director of the Regional Land Tenure Project, with headquarters at Fayetteville, Arkansas. Chester Young, former graduate student here and at Harvard University, has been employed by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. His first assignment is to assist with a census of Haiti. Young has already spent some time in Haiti doing research for his doctoral dissertation.

University of Louisville. S. C. Newman has enlisted in the U. S. Naval Reserve as a Chief Specialist. He received four weeks' training at the Norfolk Naval Base and then was sent to Bowling Green, Ky., where he is at present in charge of the Naval Recruiting Station.

University of Maryland. O. E. Baker, after thirty years in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, is leaving his position as Senior Social Scientist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare to become Head of the Department of Geography in the new graduate "Institute in Geo-Economics and Politics" at Maryland. The purpose of the Institute is to train men and women for administrative and technical positions, both governmental and private, in foreign countries after the war.

Miami University. A. Hansen has been promoted to Associate Professor. A. I. Jacobson has been called from Ohio State, where he is completing his doctorate, to teach the classes of Erich Franzen who is on leave to work in the Foreign Broadcasting Service. Read Bain, who spent the summer in Washington, D. C., as a consultant in the Bureau of the Budget, has returned to his residence. The sociology enrollment has not suffered from the war, largely because the University has the biggest freshman class in its history—and the sociology department got more than its share.

Michigan State College. Dr. Eben Mumford, organizer and former head of the Department of Sociology, died October 17, 1942. Before becoming head of the department of Sociology he was state leader of county agricultural work in Michigan.

University of Michigan. Robert C. Angell is a Captain in the U. S. Army Air Corps, and is stationed at Ellington Field, Texas; Associate Professor Theodore C. Newcomb is a consultant in social psychology in the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Division of the Federal Communications Commission.

Mills College. *La Casa Pan-Americana* was established at Mills College, Oakland, Calif., in the summer of 1942 for the purpose of maintaining a residence center of Pan-American studies on the Pacific coast for teachers of social studies, Spanish and Portuguese; students of Latin Americana; business representatives preparing for commercial relations with Latin American countries; and for Latin American students preparing to enter American colleges and universities. Warren Olney Hall was set aside as "La Casa Pan-Americana" for the summer of 1942. This spacious and beautiful residence hall became the summer home for those enrolled. Two hours were set aside daily as a minimum period for formal class instruction in Spanish and Portuguese. Instruction in English was available to Latin Americans. Table conversation at all meals in the *Casa* was organized for language practice. The daily workshop, directed by Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Professor of International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania, built its summer efforts around a project of preparing a complete high school text on Latin America for social science teachers. Story-telling was a daily event when the *Casa* family gathered around the big fireplace of the living room each evening, and the folk lore of Latin lands and peoples came to life while being related by their own people in their own language.

University of Missouri. Brewton Berry has been granted a sabbatical leave this year to continue his work on the history of the Missouri Indians. His classes are being taught by Miss Lucile Kohler, formerly extension instructor in sociology at the University; Forrest Kellogg, who for the past two years was Assistant Instructor at the University, has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Miss Ethelyn Davis, Volker Fellow at the University from 1940-42, is now teaching at the Texas State College for Women; Lawrence Hepple has been added to the extension staff as Instructor in Sociology. He will continue his work toward the doctor's degree. George Blair has accepted a commission in the Army and J. R. Bertrand in the Navy.

Mundelein College. Lieutenant Clarence J. Wittler, is now in service in the West Indies.

University of New Mexico is offering this semester for the first time a graduate seminar in "Problems in Latin American Sociology," of which Richard F. Behrendt is in charge. The School of Inter-American Affairs of the University of New Mexico, which was opened in 1941, offers both undergraduate and graduate work leading to degrees in inter-American affairs with concentration on social, economic, and political aspects.

New York University. Walter Webster Argow, formerly of the Sociology Department, is on leave for the duration to do community organization work for the repression of prostitution and the control of venereal disease as Regional Representative of the Social Protection Division of the Federal Security Agency in Florida; Claire Angevin Argow, formerly executive secretary of the Jersey City S. P. C. C., is now acting executive director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime in New York City. Henry Pratt Fairchild is a member of the Selective Service Local Board #3, Manhattan. Francis J. Brown, since July, 1940, has been Consultant

with the American Council on Education, and is now on leave of absence from the University with headquarters in Washington, D. C. He is liaison officer between a committee set up by the American Council on Education and one appointed by the Government consisting of representatives of such agencies as the Office of Education, Army, Navy, and so forth, in order to facilitate exchange of views with reference to emergency planning.

University of North Carolina. Rupert B. Vance is Visiting Professor at Louisiana State University where he is taking the place of T. Lynn Smith. Margaret Jarman Hagood is Senior Social Scientist in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture; Gordon W. Blackwell is Coordinator in the Office of Civilian Defense.

Northwestern University. Earl Dean Howard (Professor emeritus) was appointed earlier this year as head of the Rent Administration for the Chicago area. He is popularly known as Chicago's Rent Czar, has built up a large staff and is reviewing many thousand cases. Arthur S. Todd has been designated as Special Referee by the National War Labor Board.

Ohio State University Jack S. Harris and Ina Telberg have been granted leaves of absence to answer calls from Washington for very important war work. Dr. Telberg will do research on propaganda at the Library of Congress. Stuart N. Adams is an instructor in the Air Forces at Chico, Calif., and Jay G. Franz is with the Coast Guard in St. Louis, Mo.

Pennsylvania State College. Kingsley Davis has taken leave to go to Princeton, where he will work in the Office of Population Research, on demographic work for the State Department; George E. Simpson is acting head of the department during Davis' absence. Richard G. Davis has left to go into the armed forces; Simon Marcson, formerly of the Office of Radio Research of Columbia University, is taking Mr. Richard G. Davis' place. H. A. Miller, retired professor of sociology at Bryn Mawr, is teaching in Kingsley Davis' place.

University of Pennsylvania. A. H. Hobbs, instructor, began work August 1, 1942, at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Under the direction of Princeton University he is engaged in population studies for the Department of State; Donald R. Young, on leave of absence for the academic year 1942-43 is in Washington working for the Joint Army and Navy Committee. J. Ellis Voss, has been employed since May, 1942 by the Signal Corps as supervisor of their civilian training program in the Philadelphia area. Donald Young and Rex Crawford have been appointed members of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships.

University of Pittsburgh. W. A. Lunden left the University of Pittsburgh to become president of Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peters, Minn. George W. Strong is a Captain in the U. S. Army, Army Institute, the headquarters of which is at Madison, Wis.; Joseph Amshy is a Lieutenant in the Coast Guard, U. S. Navy. Mr. Robert J. Munce is instructor (aviation courses) in the E.S.M.D.T.

The Principia, Elmhurst, Ill. Edward B. Orr has returned to service in the U. S. Marine Corps with rank of Captain. He is having a course of preliminary training at Quantico, Va. George Chandler has also returned to service with the U. S. Army. He is now serving at Camp Grant in Rockford, Ill.

University of Redlands. Glen E. Carlson is an officer in the local California State Militia and working on local defense council. Last summer Carlson taught at State Teachers College, Buffalo, N. Y.

Ripon College. Ludwig F. Freund entered the Army in October.

University of Rochester. Raymond V. Bowers has been called to Washington as Senior Statistician in the Division of Research and Statistics of the Selective Service System during the academic year 1942-43. Henry D. Sheldon has resigned to take a position in the Division of Population of the Bureau of the Census. Collerohe Krassovsky of the University of Michigan will come to the department as lecturer. Dr. Krassovsky taught last year at Sweet Briar College.

Rutgers University. John W. Riley, Jr., was employed during the summer months as a Study Director in the Surveys Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. During the academic year he will continue this work on a part-time basis. The Division is now cooperating with the Office of War Information in studying various aspects of American wartime opinion.

St. Cloud Teachers' College, Minnesota. Leslie D. Zeleny is 1st Lieutenant in the Army Air Corps, at the Advanced Flying School, Brooks Field, Texas.

College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. Stephen W. Mamchur is with the War Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Stanford University. Paul Wallin, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology and is taking over the work of Joel V. Berreman who is on leave to do field work for the Department of Agriculture. Herbert Goldhamer has taken a leave of absence to enter the Army.

Teachers College, Columbia University. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck has been acting as consultant with the Nutrition Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services in cooperation with the Office of Civilian Defense in the development of plans for the organization and promotion of the Block Plan in the cities of the U. S. The objective of this plan is to provide the organizations for direct contact with all city families in problems demanding family unit cooperation in the war effort. Edmund DeS. Brunner is special adviser to the Director of Extension, U. S. Department of Agriculture with responsibility for four types of programs but chiefly that concerned with the organization of neighborhood leaders to clear war appeals and information down to the last farm house. He is also a member of a committee of the Office of Education on Schools in War Industry Communities.

Temple University. Claude C. Bowman has been named acting Dean of Men at Temple University to replace J. Conrad Seegers, who has become director of the Oak Lane Country Day School and chairman of the elementary education departments of Teachers College.

University of Texas. Carl M. Rosenquist is now on leave of absence and serving as Price Officer, Office of Price Administration, Baton Rouge, La.; Ivan C. Belknap, is with the Army Intelligence Service; James A. Moore is Lieutenant in the U. S. Army Air Corps, as instructor.

Tulane University. N. J. Demerath is on leave to work with the Program Surveys Division of the Federal Government.

Vanderbilt University. Robert C. Schmid is in the Office of Strategic Services, European Division; David B. Stout is in the Office of Strategic Services, South American Division; William F. Doering, graduate assistant at Vanderbilt for two years, has entered the U. S. Signal Corps.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute. C. L. Folse is now a Captain in the Infantry attached to the Air Corps at Bolling Field, D. C. W. W. Eure is in Army service at Fort Monroe, Va.; W. H. Roney is with the Civilian Training Division of the U. S. Army Signal Corps.

State College of Washington. Henry J. Meyer is serving with the War Labor Board, Washington, D. C.

University of Washington. Robert W. O'Brien has been appointed national director of the Student Relocation Committee which has charge of selecting qualified American-born Japanese students for admission to colleges and universities in the mid-West and East. Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, associate in sociology, is the recipient of a pre-doctoral S.S.R.C. Fellowship for field training in problems of the Japanese evacuation from the Pacific Coast. David B. Carpenter, associate in sociology, is now receiving training in the U. S. Navy Japanese Language School, which is located at the University of Colorado; Mrs. Laile Eubank Bartlett, who formerly had charge of sociology courses at Marietta College is assisting with the introductory course this year.

Jesse F. Steiner's new book, *Behind the Japanese Mask*, will be published by Macmillan about December 1. Dr. Steiner taught at Stanford University this summer. Calvin F. Schmid, who was employed as principal research analyst in the Statistical Division of the Wartime Civil Control Administration in San Francisco has returned to the University. The W.C.C.A. had charge of evacuating more than 110,000 Japanese from Military Area 1 and part of Military Area 2 of Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona. Svend Riemer has resigned to accept a position as assistant professor at Cornell University.

Wayne University. Two graduate fellowships at Wayne University to provide for research in problems in Negro-Jewish relations have been underwritten by the Detroit Units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Jewish Community Council for the college year 1942-43. The grants are to be of \$250 each and the work is to be supervised by the Department of Sociology and the Graduate School. Donald C. Marsh represents the Department of Sociology. H. Warren Dunham, Instructor in Sociology at Wayne University, received the Susan Colver-Rosenberger Award this summer at the University of Chicago in recognition of the excellence of his doctoral dissertation, "The Character of the Interrelationship of Crime and Schizophrenia. Maude L. Fiero taught a special course in sociology last summer at the Michigan Training Camp for Nurses in Detroit. Frank E. Hartung, Personnel Manager of the Airplane Products Corporation, Detroit, has been appointed Special Instructor in Sociology at Wayne.

Norman D. Humphrey has recently published "The Mock Battle Greeting" in *The Journal of American Folklore* and "Police Activities and Tribal Welfare" in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. Edward C. Jandy has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Sociology. His book, *Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory*, has just been published by the Dryden Press, New York. Stuart Lottier, formerly sociologist at the Detroit Recorder's Court Psychopathic Clinic and Special Instructor in Sociology at Wayne, is now a Private at Jefferson Barracks, Mo. Alfred McClung Lee began his duties September, 1942, as Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology. He comes from New York University and the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. He has an article in the September *Annals* on "Subversive Individuals of Minority Status." He is offering courses in "The Development of Social Theory," "Social Institutions," and "Public Opinion and Propaganda."

Western Reserve University. Clarence H. Schettler is a member of the staff of the Consumer Division of the Educational Relations Branch, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C. He has been assigned to the consultation service for public schools, colleges and universities.

University of Wisconsin. Leland C. DeVinney is setting up at the request of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Army, and in cooperation with the former agency, a research project for the study of factors associated with the variation in the syphilis rate as revealed by blood tests given selectees. This investigation is to be confined to Wisconsin and immediately neighboring states where some rather interesting differentials have appeared.

Yale University. Stephen W. Reed is a Lieutenant (J.G.) in the Navy; Selden Bacon, besides being a local air raid warden, is a member of the Connecticut committee of social hygiene control and research director of the Connecticut Crime Survey under the Governor's Defense Council. Leo W. Simmons is a member of the committee for evacuation for the New Haven Defense Council; James G. Leyburn is adviser to the Strategic Index of Latin America and to the U. S. Bureau of the Census on Haiti. Raymond Kennedy is doing special advisory work for the War Department. Maurice R. Davie is a member of the research committee, New Haven Defense Council; the advisory council to the Housing Authority of the City of New Haven; National Committee on the Housing Emergency; and the war service program of the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare.

Other personal notes. Frieda Fligelman of Berkeley, Calif., reports that she is available for sociological work, being equipped in the fields of personnel work, linguistics, public opinion, and French colonial policies. In the meantime she is filing steel, and drilling punches in metal. Bernard D. Karpinos of the U. S. Public Health Service has joined the armed forces. William C. Loring is Ensign in the U. S. Naval Reserve. He was previously with the National

Housing Agency. He writes: "indeed to us sociologists this war's end must not be a termination but a commencement."

Norma MacRury is at present with the Army Air Forces general staff as research assistant. She was formerly teaching at the Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester. Carl H. Monsees is Chief, Quarterly Requirements Branch of the Bureau of Governmental Requirements, War Production Board. Clarence E. Vrooman has been associated with the Military and Naval Welfare Division of the American National Red Cross since May 25. Up to this date he was stationed at Fort Belvoir, Va., as an Assistant Field Director.

Sam Daykin, Captain of Field Artillery, U. S. Army, formerly Chief Sociologist-Actuary of Division of Pardons and Paroles, State of Illinois, is on duty at the U. S. Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, helping with the establishment of a classification program. First Lieutenant Joseph J. Lister is Intelligence Officer at Camp Lee, Va.

OBITUARY NOTICE

BRONISLAW K. MALINOWSKI (1884-1942)

Whenever I think of Malinowski, as of Giddings, I recall the personality of a friend rather than the writings of a scholar. He rather set the tone of our relationship when he first swung into my office and announced that we were blood-kin because he regarded Sumner as his totemic grandfather. I knew about his reports on the Trobriand Islands, and liked him at first sight. We got to talking about G. Elliot Smith and his bizarre theories, and his word-sketch of that worthy is something that remains in my memory to this day.

Thereafter he usually dropped in during his lecture tours often enough to keep friendship fresh and sound. We corresponded little and talked no shop to speak of. We did not need to, for we found ourselves in substantial agreement on nearly all points of significance. I read his more popular books as they came along and liked them; and he took an understanding interest in what we were doing in New Haven.

It was a deep satisfaction to have him here on the ground, and to see him oftener. No more agreeable colleague could have been found. He was a loyal friend: selfless, unpretentious, wise, witty, lovable. He was a singularly tolerant man, ready to dig any good points he could find even out of unprepossessing productions. But that does not mean that he could not stand up and fight when he thought he ought to. He had a sharp tongue and a devastating vocabulary for the stuffed shirts of the profession or outside it.

It is unnecessary to estimate his accomplishments as a scholar. They are widely known. He had an orderly mind that leaned toward definitions more than some of us less orderly fellows do; but his formulations never hypnotized him. He never took them too seriously, for he had too wide a knowledge of science and of the world to think more highly of himself or his ideas than he ought. He knew how little any human being can know and how vast the range of the unknown and unknowable. He had no owlish gravity about him, however, but was quite capable of poking sly fun at himself or anybody else.

He was withal a thorough scientist, with an eye solely to the truth. No one could think that his lightheartedness covered a lightmindedness. There was steel underneath the velvet. Therefore one's liking for him was tempered by deep respect. We shall not soon look upon his like. His end was untimely, for he had still much to give to science. Science has lost much, but his intimates much more.

O. G. KELLER

Yale University

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BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

LELAND C. DEVINNEY AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

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Biological Symposia, Volume VIII. *Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Systems*. Edited by ROBERT REDFIELD. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jaques Cattell Press, 1942. Pp. 240. \$2.50.

The central problem of this symposium, the problem of how organic and social unity is achieved and maintained in organisms and societies, is common and fundamental to the biological and social sciences. Any evolutionary hypothesis compels acceptance of the position that each form of

functioning unity is an emergence from preceding types; presumably, the processes of integration are continuous, or exist as an organically continuous series, throughout all orders of life. A basic problem of the life sciences is to define the common integrative process; a proximate problem is to discover and isolate the integrative processes and to uncover the natural pattern of their emergence. In the present volume, made up of papers presented at the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the University of Chicago, the proximate problem of integration is attacked more or less directly, though not systematically, by outstanding scholars in various fields of biological and social science.

The first three papers are concerned with integration at the level of the individual organism. Hyman's paper, "The Transition from the Unicellular to the Multicellular Individual," shows how "a spherical colony of protozoans, with no polarity, in which each cell acts independently and can perform all functions, becomes a metazoan individual, in which the colony is polarized and the cells act in coordination." Buchanan's paper, "Intermediate Levels of Organismic Integration," deals with the establishment of mechanisms by means of which the whole of a single organism is regulated by a dominant part. Gerard's paper, "Higher Levels of Integration," deals with the mechanical and electrical mechanisms, common to all forms, that make dominance and subordination possible, and with how a society is formed from individual parts.

The four following papers deal with the general problem from the point of view of populations. Burrows, dealing with bacterial populations, shows how the interaction between units produces effects that are not produced by the parts separately. Jennings' paper, "The Transition from the Individual to the Social Level," dealing with the nature of protozoan aggregates, directly raises the question as to the nature of societies among the simplest organisms. Park, writing on "Integration in Infra-Social Insect Populations," stresses the relationship between the insect system and the genetic or environmental pressures which together form the integration. Allee, "Social Dominance and Subordination Among Vertebrates," presents data from fowls and mice to show the integration of populations into societies.

The final four papers are concerned with problems of integration at the level of organized society. Emerson's paper, "Basic Comparisons of Human and Insect Societies," takes the position that resemblances between insect and human societies are instances of convergent evolution, not mere analogies, though the mechanisms in the one case are biological heredity while those in the other are learned symbolic behavior. Carpenter in "Societies of Monkeys and Apes," shows a series of social relations in the sub-human primates involving, in some measure, psychological factors and the use of symbols. Kroeber's paper, "The Societies of Primitive Men," points out that a new mechanism of integration appears at the human level, a conventional specialization of work based upon abstractions and communicated by symbols. He distinguishes two levels of human society: the primitive, organized on personal relations and kinship organizations, and the modern, characterized by economic and political institutions. The final paper by

Park, "Modern Society," emphasizes the different levels of integration and their relations as the fundamentally unique characteristic of modern society. As the personal and intimate relations that characterize primitive societies give way to impersonal and abstract relations, there is an increase in individual freedom and a decrease rather than an increase in integration.

The papers as a group emphasize the slow but continuous advance toward a type of social life that is foreshown rather than reached in the contemporary forms of human organization. There are evidences of social behavior in the simplest organisms. They become more numerous and increasingly extensive as organisms and populations increase in size and complexity. More complex forms of integration develop, through expansion and emerging, as they become necessary to control larger and more complex organisms and populations. The organismic point of view is, in general, consistently assumed through the series of papers.

As editor of the volume, Redfield contributed an analytical introduction which, by emphasizing significant points in the technical papers and indicating how the findings of one investigator are related to the problem of another, makes a genuine contribution to the symposium.

University of Iowa

E. B. REUTER

The Nature of Literature. Its Relation to Science, Language and Human Experience. By THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK. Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xxiv + 218. \$3.00.

No intellectual advance of modern times is more important than recent developments in language as a behavior phenomenon. It is not surprising that this interest is viewed with hostility in quarters which have thrived for centuries on pure loquacity. The shortcomings and errors of the more popular treatises on semantics have provided considerable opportunity also for legitimate criticism. Interest in the subject, however, continues to grow with distinct gains for the insurgents.

The work being reviewed undertakes to clarify how the language of literature differs from the language of science. In pursuing this task the author wisely refuses to become involved in the unnecessary and absurd question of which is superior or more valuable. Instead, he ably propounds the view that literary communication is distinguished from scientific communication by essentially different characteristics, techniques and purposes. The importance of differentiating them is recognized in the following words:

One of the great services which the study of scientific method has rendered human beings is the analysis of the conditions under which men can be sure they know what they are talking about, and hence can make exact communication possible. It will repay the student of literature . . . to follow this analysis, not only because it touches on one of the most important discoveries the human mind has ever made—the development of scientific method being perhaps more important than any actual discovery of science—but also because it may enable him to see more clearly what literature . . . , as distinguished from another valuable use of language, is *not* (p. 78).

Very briefly, the distinction between the two types of language, according to the author, is as follows: Scientific language aims to communicate ac-

curately abstractions from total experience in publicly discriminable symbols that refer, as specifically as possible, to "objects," "facts," "ideas," etc., including relationships between them. The purpose of literature is to express an experience through symbols capable of evoking in the reader a controlled experience similar to that of the writer. Experiences are described as psycho-physiological events which, while occasionally sharply discrete, "normally flow one into another as parts of the total stream of our existence" (p. 55). To quote:

We have seen that through one of the major uses of language, referential symbolism, human beings attempt to communicate their awareness of referents abstracted from their actual experiences (E). These referents may range from simple objects, such as a chair or a tree, to the most complicated relationships of mathematical, scientific, and philosophical thought. The important point is that in a referential use of symbols the attempt is to communicate, not the actual experience (E) in which the reference (the thought of the chair or of the mathematical relationship) takes place, but the reference abstracted from this experience (E). In another major use of language, evocative symbolism, human beings attempt to communicate, not the abstraction from the experience, but the actual experience (E) itself (pp. 176-77).

The best supporting data for this distinction are found in Chapter VII, on the various literary devices by which writers evoke responses in their readers. These techniques, as distinguished from those upon which scientists rely, are ably expounded and the distinction as indicated above is on the whole a helpful one, especially if it is regarded as a matter of degree. But as a sharp or fundamental distinction, the author's wording of the criteria is open to some misunderstanding. In the first place, the only thing that scientists as well as *litterateurs* communicate is experience. That science abstracts to a greater extent from "the total stream of existence" (i.e., communicates in smaller installments) is possibly true. But it surely is a delusion to assume that the communications of literature are not also abstractions, but "the actual experience itself." Also, the implication that while the abstractions of science must be "publicly discriminable," literature communicates a "private experience," is untenable because the scientific abstraction is also a private experience before it is communicated. Again, when the private experience is communicated it must *in the act of communication* become publicly discriminable and employ referential symbols, because that is the essence of *all* communication. Perhaps a case could be made for the view that the literary techniques are *less generally* or *less specifically* publicly discriminable—more dependent on context, etc. If so, the distinction becomes one of kind of communication technique, kind of experience each is used to communicate, definiteness, and *degrees of abstractness* of the matter communicated. These are, I believe, the true criteria for the distinction between scientific and literary languages.

This is also the point at which the volume under review touches sociologists most closely. An unbelievable amount of nonsense has been written to the effect that to "understand" a social act one must "experience" it, as nearly as may be, as the actors in it do. Literature probably aims to communicate this type of empathy or understanding. This is not the criterion

at all for scientific understanding. The best *scientific* understanding of delirium tremens, murder, and prostitution, for example, is, I venture to say, in the possession of people who have themselves never "experienced" (in the empathic sense) these forms of behavior. As Read Bain has recently remarked in these pages (June 1942, p. 387):

Neither do I think it is necessary to perceive the social act as the actor does in order to "understand it" (page 380). That is necessary, of course, to understand it *as the actor does*, but it is not necessary to understand it as the actor does, to understand it *as the scientist must*. The scientist must understand it as a recurrent type of behavior which has been assigned to a class and thus can be dealt with predictively. What it means to the actor is not necessarily of any scientific consequence whatever—even for therapy. In fact, emphasis on empathic identification may even prevent the elaboration of the rigorously delimited observations and manipulations of data which are the prerequisites for science. If the scientist becomes too much concerned with the *unique particular*, he may never arrive at the *abstract general*, which is science.

I think the position of the volume under review is at least compatible with the above view and in any case introduces much clarifying material looking definitely in that direction. It may therefore be recommended both to English professors and sociologists. I am not sure which group needs it most. I know of members of the literary fraternity who were recently heavily engaged in appraising the literary worth of *Grapes of Wrath* on the basis of whether the Joad family was typical—a consideration quite irrelevant, I think, in estimating it as a work of art. Conversely, I know of some sociologists who declared it to be an important sociological contribution because it portrays experience—"life"—, it concerns a social problem, is vividly communicated, and "rings true." Possibly the accidents of academic life have landed some excellent people in the wrong departments. Dr. Pollack's excellent book may help to clarify if not to correct their position.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

Comparative Psychology of Mental Development. By HEINZ WERNER. Translated by E. B. Garside, with a foreword by G. W. Allport. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. xii+510. \$4.00.

The author of this book, a German psychologist now residing in this country, has attempted to build a systematic picture of mental development by drawing upon materials from child psychology, anthropology, and psychiatry. According to him, developmental psychology attempts the "establishment of developmental levels and of genetic relationships between these levels" (p. 24). Such parallels are found in the phylogenetic and ontogenetic development ranging all the way from anatomical and physiological phases to the psychological and cultural. In moving from stage to stage the individual and the race or society is said to pass from holoistic, syncretic, global, and diffuse forms of action and thought to that which is more differentiated and logical. Moreover, the psychopaths are held to illustrate

childish stages of mentality, on the one hand, and certain primitive stages, on the other.

While Werner denies any truck with the recapitulation thesis, his parallelism reminds one strongly of earlier discussions of the recapitulation school and his frame of reference reminds one of Hall's discussions of child development and of what he called "the adolescent races." There are many obvious instances of the failure to realize that the cultural factors themselves often determine the psychological rather than the reverse.

One of the commonest errors of the psychologist who essays parallelisms is the attempt to link the holophrastic characteristics of much of early speech of the child with the primitive languages, especially those built on the agglutinative pattern. The critical comments of Hocart, Faris, Sapir, Malinowski, and many others with respect to this topic seem to be completely unnoticed. In the same manner the attempt to tie up the elaborate systems of primitive magic with the fantasy thinking of children in our own society is to neglect important differences. The thought forms of our masses are not particularly advanced over those of primitive man, except with reference to the manipulation of mechanical devices, which, of course, does not imply any basic knowledge of the physical and chemical "laws" which underlie such practical skills necessary to use these tools and machines. Our culture is full of fantasy, stereotypes, holistic, and diffuse modes of thought and action. While the content is different and much more complicated, the organization of perception, memory, and conception in the tribesman and ourselves is not strikingly disparate.

Yet these rather severe criticisms should not deflect the student of culture and personality from reading this book. His theory aside, the author has collected a vast array of useful data, especially from little known European sources on child psychology, which should prove useful to American scholars. Moreover, the bibliography of over 750 titles is most useful. And, it must be said in fairness to Dr. Werner that he does utter, from time to time, certain cautions about making too much of some of the parallels he draws. (See pp. 356, 417, and 459.) Yet, he also quickly forgets his own cautions and plunges boldly into all sorts of parallels as to magic (pp. 357 ff., 363, 365, 368), as to concepts of reality (pp. 383 ff.), and as to factors in the rise of the social self (pp. 430 ff., 442, 445). In fact, with reference to this last item, he makes no reference to the work of Royce, Baldwin, Cooley, or G. H. Mead respecting the interplay of social interaction and the rise of the self.

There is no doubt that any serious consideration of the relation of culture to personality must deal with the type of data which Werner presents. While we may not agree with this author's theoretical standpoint, or method of analysis, his book should serve to re-direct attention to the need for further investigation into this field. Perhaps the present studies in the genetics of personality among primitive peoples will help to bridge the gap between our own work in child psychology and the earlier investigations of primitive culture of adults.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

Social Psychology. (Second Edition.) By RICHARD T. LAPIERE and PAUL R. FARNSWORTH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 511. \$3.50.

The second edition is in its essentials the same text which is widely known to sociologists. It has the same virtues which brought such praise in the review of the first edition by L. L. Bernard in this *Review*. There is a considerable amount of reorganization of the material and several new chapter headings. The notes which back up the text with effective evidence and illustration have been gathered into a seventy page section in the appendix. Needless to say, research of the recent period has been added to bring the discussion up to date. There is a new emphasis on interaction.

LaPiere and Farnsworth deserve commendation for the way in which they have been able to combine materials from sociology and psychology without giving way to the chaotic lack of theory that often characterizes such efforts. They show that the research material can fit very well into an organization which does not clash with the accumulated knowledge in sociology. They are also surefooted enough to resist some of the current faddish developments which are flourishing on and beyond the borderlines. Their book may not look heavy beside the 1,000 page works, but it is in the main current of the movement of knowledge, and will undoubtedly match the success of the first edition.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Bryn Mawr College

Social Learning and Imitation. By NEAL E. MILLER and JOHN DOLLARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. 341. \$3.50.

Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe. By JOHN W. M. WHITING. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 226. \$2.75.

The particular theory of learning advanced by Miller and Dollard stems from that of stimulus-response psychology, particularly as it has been developed by Clark Hull. The key concepts as presented by the authors are *drive*, *cue*, *response*, and *reward*. The problem of the acquired drives, as well as that of the higher mental processes are discussed. Imitative behavior is classified into three different types: *same behavior*, *matched-dependent behavior*, and *copying*. The matched-dependent type is treated in detail because of its importance for social life, e.g., "The study of socialization in children offers innumerable examples where children match behavior with their elders and are dependent on them for cues as to when to do so" (pp. 92-93).

For many psychological problems this theory may well be adequate. The authors in an over-confident footnote say, "Most of the practical conclusions are so well founded on empirical fact that major alterations in them seem unlikely" (p. 35). As scientists, the authors should be aware of the fact that however valid a conclusion, it often happens in the history of science that a theoretical schema is replaced by a more significant or penetrating one without destroying necessarily the validity of either.

Within the limitations set by the Miller-Dollard learning theory, the authors handle the social and cultural material in competent and interesting fashion. The present reviewer, however, would like to ask this question: Is this the most fruitful psychological schema available for application to social science problems, in particular, that of social learning? Many questions crucial to both social scientist and psychologist are not even raised by this theory. We need to know not only how learning takes place, but also how the developing personality is affected by what is learned and by the way in which it is taught. The Miller-Dollard theory does not yield a basis for transition to these other, and equally vital, problems of learning.

The lack of breadth to the questions asked may explain why the authors miss many of the socially significant factors operating in the cases which they present. For instance, in the case of three year old Ceci (pp. 133-37), sibling rivalry or dependency needs might easily outweigh the importance of hunger and appetite as drives. With children such factors are often more important than mere hunger.

The introduction of the results of animal experiments seems of questionable value. The authors failed to convince this reviewer that the imitative behavior they observed among rats was on a comparable basis with that in man. The authors themselves admit that punishment had to be used to get the second rat to imitate the first. "The slight conflict introduced by this mild punishment (viz., snipping on the nose) was found to be sufficient to break up the position habit and to aid in discrimination!" (p. 108).

The authors are well aware of the cultural role in learning: "It cannot be urged too insistently that the parent, in selecting, rewarding, and fixing the child's responses, is not acting as an isolated agent, but is carrying on a practice old in our society . . ." (p. 142). Nevertheless, for a proper understanding of socialization one should know the relationship of personality formation to the content and techniques employed for learning by a particular society. This is not even raised as a problem, in spite of the fact that the authors express a central interest in social learning.

Whiting's *Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe* is put forward as a concrete application of the Miller-Dollard formulations. The first section, a purely ethnographic account of the Kwoma, is excellent. The second section is the application of the Miller-Dollard learning theory to the Kwoma data.

Whiting expressly states that he did not do his field work with knowledge of this theory, but applied it afterward to the already gathered material. Although this does not by any means vitiate his conclusions, we are left with the same queries as we were with the first book. The problem of what kind of person Kwoma socialization produces is not even considered. A satisfactory general theory of the process of socialization should concern itself not only with the bare essentials of a narrowly conceived learning theory, but also with broader and deeper problems of learning. Granting that the Kwoma teacher provides *motivation* through techniques of punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting; that he or she provides *guidance* through leading, instructing, and demonstrating; and that he provides *re-*

ward through giving, helping, and praising—granting all this—what are the effects on the individual Kwoma produced by these techniques, by the way in which they are used, by the areas of conduct toward which they are directed at different ages, and by the particular impulses they are supposed to modify? These questions appear more vital to the full understanding of the processes of socialization.

As a matter of fact, Whiting's data cover a good many of the facts needed to answer such questions, but they are not used to describe the effects of socialization on the developing Kwoma personality. The severity of the shift from infancy to childhood in this society, the insecurity and frustration that this arouses, the escapist, lying, and secretive behavior of the children, the fact that there is a belief in food poisoning, all this and more is brought out, but what these facts *mean* in the formation of *adult personality* is not fully realized or discussed as a problem in social learning. The last chapter on the supernatural is totally inadequate as an explanation of the actual processes involved. The whole second section of the Whiting book demonstrates unwittingly the inadequacy of the Miller-Dollard theory of social learning for application to problems central to sociology and anthropology.

The ethnographic data are extremely interesting. The Kwoma's handling of nudity immediately makes one wish for more exact knowledge on other similarly unclothed societies. The prescribed behavior is almost a substitute for clothes. Meeting a person of the opposite sex on a path, one converses back to back looking over one's shoulders. There are proprieties about looking, especially for the men. So also must a girl be careful about exposing herself unnecessarily. As has been suggested to the reviewer, a good popular title for the book would have been "Puritans Without Clothes." An example of good reporting is Whiting's observation that the uninitiated groups practice secretly certain parts of ceremonies about which they are supposed to have no way of knowing until their initiation. Whiting did a nice job in spite of certain limitations in the field set-up which he honestly points out. It is unfortunate that he burdened himself with a theory that kept him from making explicit certain relationships in his material that it is quite clear he sensed. The ethnographic material on this New Guinea tribe is a thoroughly honest, careful, and intuitive job of reporting.

H. SCUDDER MEKEEL

University of Wisconsin

Social Control through Law. Powell Lectures on Philosophy at Indiana University. By ROSCOE POUND. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. 138. \$2.00.

In 1941 Pound was invited by the University of Indiana to give a series of lectures on legal philosophy. In such a series the subject cannot be treated exhaustively or systematically nor can a fundamentally new point be developed, but it gives the lecturer an excellent opportunity to reformulate his opinions and to condense his views on what he regards the basic issues. Pound has seized the opportunity with his usual mastery and has presented us with a book that contains the main tenets of his philosophical credo. A

reviewer wanting to do justice to the lecture series under review would have to analyze not this book alone but the numerous books and articles in which Pound has expounded his theories. As such a task would exceed the space allotted to this review I feel entitled to limit myself to a few remarks on single points which merit particular attention.

Pound emphasizes again that no legal philosophy can escape the problem of values. The notion of law implies that it is directed towards the realization of values. But where is the scheme of values to be found? Pound scoffs at the "give-it-up philosophies," i.e., the theories of extreme skepticism or relativism because they cannot provide us with a method of improving the law or even with a standard of interpretation. Theoretically Pound is right, but in fairness one must add that almost all the American authors who in recent times put forward a legal philosophy of skepticism or relativism were nevertheless ardent advocates of legal and social reforms. Much less definite than Pound's denial of relativism are his assertions on the validity of values. It seems that he wouldn't have a concrete scheme of values either. Yet he believes he has found one central value; namely, civilization. Its furtherance is the task of the law. Is this a solution of the problem or only a restatement of the question in a new form? It is a solution if civilization can be defined in a satisfactory way. Pound defines civilization as "the development of human powers to constantly greater completeness, the maximum of human control over external or physical nature and over internal or human nature of which men are for the time being capable." If Pound had had more time and space than the lecture series permitted, he would certainly have dwelt longer on this definition and given it a more concrete meaning; as it stands now it sounds rather formalistic, and a malevolent interpreter could point out that under it the Nazis represent the summit of civilization.

Pound makes a few stimulating remarks about the connection of legal and social philosophies with certain forms of government. Criticizing Kelsen without naming him he says: "Absolute ideas of justice have made for free government, and skeptical ideas of justice have gone with autocracy." I do not feel entitled to question the historical truth of this statement, but taken as a sociological or psychological assertion Pound's words need some qualification. It is true that a tyrannical form of government will find less resistance if, under the influence of skepticism, the population has lost the capacity of distinguishing between good and evil, not to speak of the willingness to sacrifice their lives for the good. But this is only one of the causes of the rise of a tyranny. The modern tyrannies—the various forms of Fascism—are based on the assumption of an absolute value system. It is the value system of the devil. Whatever is good and right and has been taken for good and right since humanity reflected upon moral values is evil for them and what has been evil has become good. In this sense Fascism is the philosophy of the Antichrist. Yet it is a philosophy.

The particular charm of this and the other works of Pound's is the inexhaustible knowledge and experience which give color to every page. Every statement is exemplified by instances of actual legal practice and all theo-

retical assertions are given their proper place in the body of thoughts on legal philosophy.

Yale University

ROBERT NEUNER

Sociology of Law. By GEORGES GURVITCH. New York: Philosophical Library and the Alliance Book Corporation, 1941. Pp. 309. \$3.75.

Readers are referred to the *American Sociological Review* of February, 1941, for a review by Paul Honigsheim of Gurvitch's *Essais de Sociologie* by way of understanding some of the social and philosophical thinking incident to Gurvitch's *Sociology of Law*. In a preface, former Dean Roscoe Pound indicates that the sociology of law is almost purely a product of continental Europe and that it constitutes a branch of sociology, whereas in this country its nearest counterpart is that field concerned with the practical problems of the legal scheme of things, and known as sociological jurisprudence.

The sociology of law, according to Gurvitch, is not concerned merely with external manifestations, but rather also with internal causes, developments and relationships, and as expressed in social institutions. There is a rather novel and challenging division of the sociology of law which Gurvitch outlines and then defines as: (1) "The study of the manifestation of law as a function of the forms of sociality and of the levels of social reality"; (2) the study of the manifestation of law as a function of collective units; and (3) the study of the problems of the "genetic sociology of law."

Students of social jurisprudence might very well wonder whether the first does not really show a kinship, in extended form, of what was known in the older studies on the subject as John Austin's school of analytical jurisprudence. The second shows a kinship to fairly contemporary schools of sociological jurisprudence, such as those of Dean Pound and the late Justice Cardozo. And the third, or genetic sociology of law, reminds us somewhat of Sir Henry Maine's school of historical-anthropological jurisprudence.

The points of departure, however, are that each of these earlier schools considered itself a complete entity unto itself, whereas Gurvitch's division is all part of an integrated whole.

In a closing chapter, Gurvitch finds a strong interdependence existing between the philosophy of law and the sociology of law. The concern of the former is with the study of values and ideas, but Gurvitch concludes, since these cannot exist merely by themselves, and are related to the subject matter of the sociology of law, which, in turn, is concerned with reality, as expressed in legal-jural institutions and relations, the philosophy of law is necessarily co-related to the sociology of law.

J. B. LIGHTMAN

Houston, Texas

Administrative Regulation: A Study of Representation of Interests. By AVERY LEISERSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xiii + 292.

The purpose of this book is to examine the methods by which representatives of interest groups, especially those of an organized economic nature,

have come to play a significant part in regulatory public administrative agencies. Social and psychological theorists will find in the first two chapters a concise summary of the thought on "interests" and "interest-groups," and the relation of these concepts to the problem at hand. For political scientists public administrators, members of organized interest groups, and all those interested in applied social science the study will provide an informed and clear-cut presentation of the recent development and present participation of these groups in administrative regulation; incidentally, it may also serve as a handbook or manual of forms and procedures.

The interest-groups of special concern are (1) capitalists', industrialists', and business mens' associations, (2) wage-earners' trade unions, (3) farmers' bargaining cooperatives, (4) traders' stock and commodity exchanges, and, to an almost negligible extent, consumers' organizations. Organized groups of these categories are examined with respect to: (1) interest representation in administrative procedure; (2) the forms of their representation upon administrative boards; (3) their attitudes toward administrative responsibility; (4) their functioning on advisory committees of administrative boards, and, (5) occasional delegation to them of public administrative functions.

The book closes with a well-reasoned critical analysis of the dilemmas inherent in the situation. Essentially, these boil down to this: How can public administrative bodies preserve and contribute to the *general* welfare and at the same time, in conformity with democratic theory, permit some degree of representative consultation and participation of the organized economic groups vitally interested in the regulatory procedure? The author reaches no solutions (if there are any), though he does lay down certain pre-conditions to possible solutions (p. 284). Possibly each regulative task must dictate its own contemporary balance between the elements involved.

The book is an excellent summary of the theory, legislation, and existing practice regarding the use and misuse of organized special interest groups in regulative public administrative procedures. The footnotes are both copious and selective and serve well as a guide to the literature in the field. All in all, it raises a series of pertinent questions which all interested or involved in the managerial revolution now occurring must face.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

American Social Problems. By MARY ELIZABETH WALSH. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. xii+234. \$2.00.

American Social Problems is a text in the Student Manual Series of the Catholic University of America. It covers the subjects usually surveyed under its title (nature of social problems, geography, population, immigration, race, health, family, economic problems, crime, and war), excluding many of the "problems" often classified as "individual."

The book has the virtue of being a readable text. It minimizes statistical data and references to minor studies, and thereby leaves the student less confused. *American Social Problems*, however, is non-technical, largely de-

scriptive, and lacks theoretical considerations from a sociological frame of reference.

Dr. Walsh's point of view is frankly Catholic. The book makes a plea for social theory, but the theory is largely a philosophical discussion of absolute justice. The reviewer does not question the right or even the value of discussing social problems from the point of view of an assumed value system. Many of the books (Protestant and Catholic alike) in this field do, as is implicit, for instance, in any discussion of the "disadvantages of capitalism." This is not sociology, if by that term is meant the science of society. By stating her assumed values, our author perhaps errs less than others. Dr. Walsh, however, gives logical and "natural" reasons for her values, which do not make her values "scientific." The discussion separates theology and sociology, but the latter is fused with strictly philosophical questions. A student would gain no conception of a modern sociological approach from this book.

ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD

University of Buffalo

Is Modern Culture Doomed? By ANDREW J. KRZESINSKI. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1942. Pp. xiv+158. \$2.00.

A book by a Catholic priest. . . . If you have read Sorokin you need not bother with this, unless you like such reading. The viewpoint is Sorokinian without Sorokin's scholarship and logical development of his premises. Krzesinski is polemic, homiletic, and dogmatic. The book is full of name-calling, undefined terms, and question-begging pseudo-logic.

If the ideology represented here is really that of the Church (it has the Church's *nihil obstat*), one can see why there has to be a separate Catholic sociological society and educational system, why the Church cannot cooperate with other Christian denominations, why the Church has to have political representatives in all countries, and why it has had an anomalous, if not antagonistic, attitude toward much of the scientific and cultural development since 1500. It already had, by Divine Revelation, all the knowledge essential to man's real welfare, here and hereafter, at least a thousand years before the Renaissance. To that way of thinking we must return or civilization is doomed. And to it we will return because God has a plan that " . . . neither man nor devil is capable of changing . . . ; Satan is no more than a mere tool in the hands of the Almighty" (page 143).

READ BAIN

Miami University

Postwar Planning in the United States. By GEORGE B. GALLOWAY. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund. 1942. Pp. xi+158. \$.60.

This is an alphabetic directory, completed in December 1941, of some hundred-odd planning agencies with nation-wide scope (plus references to scores of regional and local subdivisions), with a short description of each agency's program, names of executive and advisory personnel, list of publi-

cations, and a 30-page bibliography. Most of the agencies—some seventy—are organs of the federal government, the rest are sponsored by universities, business, labor and other associations, individual firms and private interests. But the author does not claim that the list is all-inclusive. Some of the programs are restricted to specific issues, but those with a more or less universal scope prevail. As Galloway says in the Introduction: "... much of this discussion is vague, general, thin, and evanescent," based on implicit assumptions, such as the desirability and possibility of "full employment" after the war, and of the full cooperation of "all rival sectional interests in American life" in the execution of postwar plans. In other words, they appear to be unrealistic, if not naive, in both the economic and the political sense.

The book may serve two immediate objectives. For one, it is a guide to students who are looking for jobs in the "planning" field—a new profession, some 800 members of which are already organized in an American Society of Planning Officials. (We might soon have college courses and academic degrees in the "Science of Planning.") More important is the question either of coordinated or of wasted efforts, raised by the author himself: "There is much talk and some thought about the kind of world we will live in both here and abroad. . . . The need of cooperation in this task for planning for the future is manifest, both to divide the labor of an undertaking too vast for any single agency and to develop common objectives and a unified program." Perhaps the development of an intelligent and honest understanding of the vast economic and social difficulties which we are facing, rather than the making of blueprints based on wishful thinking, should be the first objective of all significant planning.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

Education for Citizen Responsibilities. Ed. by FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE. Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. x+126. \$1.50.

This is a series of papers presented by the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship. Worthy as the goals of this foundation might be, it is difficult to see how the quality of citizenship can be improved by the generalizations which are offered. Anyone familiar with the social sciences and the materials which they are accustomed to cover will find little in this volume which is either new or helpful. Even though the writers submitted their views to the "cross-fire of discussion" nevertheless we have not secured a highly refined product. No new findings are presented; no new technique is perfected for humanizing knowledge.

We should expect men of science to view their separate disciplines more objectively than the contributors to this volume seem to have done. Instead, we read "that history alone can give the perspective," that it is "the special province of anthropology to make us intelligent citizens in the kingdom of multiform man" and, at the same time that "geography is precisely the best discipline to teach man that he is conditioned by his environment." Depending upon one's experience, a statement which might provoke greater

controversy is that "the professional philosopher could be defined as the slow-minded man." What of the educational philosopher?

The book presents a brief and certainly incomplete guide to academic practice in the social sciences. The authors might serve the goddess of citizenship far better if they remained away from conferences such as the one which produced this volume. Instead, we might promote the general welfare if we stayed by our academic workbenches in an attempt to improve the quality of the citizenship of our charges. For how, except through factual analysis of essential and useful material, reasoned criticism, and group expression can citizenship ever be developed?

JOHN A. KINNEMAN

Illinois State Normal University

Sociological Foundations of Education. By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK and Associates. New York: Crowell Company, 1942. Pp. x+771. \$3.75.

In any consideration of the field of educational sociology much time is usually wasted in quibbling over its meaning and scope. The introduction to this book, discussing "the essence of educational sociology," does little to clarify the matter. However, this review space may be used to better advantage if we take the position that there is real opportunity for sociology to make a contribution to education and proceed to analyze the volume from this point of view.

Roucek and his extensive group of associates have compiled a symposium suitable for use as an introductory sociology text for prospective teachers. Part I presents with a justifiable educational slant, selected basic units in the usual introduction to sociology. In Part II consideration is given to some of the major social problems, again with implications for education. Obviously the book cannot be used as a text for an advanced course in sociology.

This is not to say that it contains no contributions beyond what is usually found in texts on introductory sociology and social problems. Several of the contributors offer a fresh approach. A notable example is the chapter by Zeleny in which he discusses some of the major developments in progressive education under the heading, "A Sociological Curriculum." Also of especial significance are Waller's treatment of "The Teacher's Roles," Butterworth's "Education in Rural Areas," and Outland's "The Sociology of College Life."

What is needed in this comparatively virgin field of educational sociology is more work such as that represented in Waller's *The Sociology of Teaching* and Wilson's recent *The Academic Man*. Not until further similarly substantial contributions are made will survey texts in the field have the requisite basic materials upon which to draw.

Roucek and his collaborators, however, have done a creditable job in the present volume. The text should be widely adopted, especially in teacher education institutions where work in educational sociology may be the student's first, and too often his last, exposure to sociology. It is difficult to think of additional topics which should have been treated. Some may wish

for a more penetrating analysis of the possibilities of the school serving as a motive force and coordinating agency in improving the general level of living, especially in small communities.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

University of North Carolina

Environment and Education. By ERNEST W. BURGESS, W. LLOYD WARNER, FRANZ ALEXANDER, M.D., and MARGARET MEAD. Supplementary Educational Monographs, Number 54; Human Development Series, Volume I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. viii+66. \$1.00.

This is the report of a symposium held in connection with the recent fiftieth anniversary celebration of the University of Chicago, wherein the participants further pursue the present conception of education that "all environmental factors which influence the growth and development of human individuals are said to be educative" (p. v). The names of the participants indicate the line of thought taken by each: Burgess speaks of the educative effects of urban environment, Warner introduces some of his data from *Yankee City* and *Deep South* to describe the educative effects of social status. Alexander and Mead disagree somewhat on the question of whether the unique personal-social experiences or the culturally regularized experiences of the maturing individual shall be given greater weight in analyzing personality development.

The total-environment conception of education is shown to be strongly supported by the logic of social-cultural studies and will, of course, be further strengthened by future studies, but it must be said that the data thereby obtained unfortunately serve to reinforce the conviction among propagandists and censors that as few unregulated stimuli as possible should be permitted to reach the educand.

J. E. HULETT, JR.

University of Illinois

The Newspaper and Society. Edited by GEORGE L. BIRD and FREDERIC E. MERWIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xviii+627. \$4.00.

The Press in the Contemporary Scene. Edited by MALCOLM M. WILLEY and RALPH D. CASEY. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 219, January 1942.

The first of these volumes is a book of readings primarily designed to acquaint students of journalism with the functions of the newspaper and the influences it exerts upon other institutions and the public-opinion process. Making use of a background that embraces both teaching experience and practical newspaper work, the editors have, on the whole, selected their material sagaciously and organized it with skill. The result is a good source book, well calculated to open the eyes of pre-professional students to the broader social implications of the newspaper.

Several matters of sociological interest are aroused by this book. First, it furnishes some indication of the progress of journalism in becoming a pro-

fession. An intermediate stage in the process of professionalization involves the tendency of the corporate body of workers in the given field to acquire a sense of social responsibility for their professional enterprise. Out of the discussion of practices and procedures affecting the welfare of other groups and of society as a whole, an ethics is gradually formulated. Such discussion is not new to journalism, but these readings reveal that it is waxing, becoming more realistic and more socially oriented, and apparently gaining some measure of consensus on certain fundamental points. Questions of newspaper morality may still be most hotly debated by "idealistic" teachers and students in the classrooms, but they increasingly pervade the news rooms and editorial offices. In short, the normative trend disclosed in these pages may be taken to mean that the professionalization of journalism is passing through a phase where ethical discussion begins to generate an ethical consensus.

A profession is also characterized by the fact that it rests on a body of abstract knowledge. Materials of the social sciences, which occupy such a basal position with reference to the nascent profession of journalism, are put to some use in the present volume, particularly in chapters dealing with public opinion, propaganda, the press and law enforcement, and the press and government. However, there is not much material that is distinctively sociological. No doubt this is largely a result of the failure of sociologists vigorously to develop the sociology of journalism as a special field of interest. On the other hand, it may denote a tardiness on the part of journalists to assimilate the sociological viewpoint and to make use of available contributions.

The second volume under review will serve admirably as a supplement to the first. The focus of the articles in this symposium is on the more significant changes occurring in the American press during recent years. The first six articles serve to delineate the role of the newspaper as an institution and provide a framework for interpreting its functions. Significant new data are supplied on reader habits and on the "audience stratification" of various communicational media. There follow eight articles on the "newspaper pattern" which present both a vivid cross section of the contemporary press and some of its outstanding trends, nine articles which deal with newspaper treatment of special fields of interest, and in conclusion three which deal with "responsibilities and reforms." Some of these contributions are much too short to do justice to their subjects, but none are vapid or perfunctory.

Most readers of this journal will be familiar with the major changes described. Competition between urban dailies continues to wane or disappear while competition between the press and other media grows. One result has been to accentuate the trend toward entertainment material and graphical content, with the Big Business of syndication growing still bigger and standardization of features becoming more widespread. Yet despite its efforts to entertain, the newspaper has not been holding its own against the radio and the picture magazine if its share in advertising revenue is taken as a measure. Better news coverage and more expert reporting have also been stimulated by this competition, with results that promise more long-run success.

Far greater changes, growing out of the impact of war and the totalitarian threat, are now swiftly overtaking the American press, but their nature and extent are only adumbrated in these studies.

CARROLL D. CLARK

University of Kansas

Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory. By EDWARD C. JANDY. New York: The Dryden Press, 1942. Pp. viii+319. \$3.00.

The name of Charles Horton Cooley must be familiar to all American sociologists, and most of them doubtless have at least a slight acquaintance with his writings. It is a safe guess, however, that comparatively few of them, except those over fifty years of age, have given the attention that they might profitably have to Cooley's works.

It is, therefore, no more than fitting that we should now have a book-length study of his life and work. Dr. Jandy had in his undertaking the full cooperation of Mrs. Cooley, who gave him complete access to Cooley's journals and other files and records. The journals appear to have been a mine of information, which had not hitherto been exploited. It is not surprising, accordingly, that the author has been able to write an interpretive life of Cooley which those interested in his work will find very illuminating. *The Life*, contained in some seventy pages of the present volume, is its most valuable part. The critical study of Cooley's social theory, to which Jandy has devoted the major portion of his book, seems to the present reviewer to be less valuable on the whole; however graduate students and others will find it a helpful aid to their own studies of Cooley's works. Anyone who attempted to write a critical and analytical account of the social theory of Cooley would be undertaking a relatively thankless and gratuitous task, since Cooley's original writings are neither voluminous nor particularly difficult to read and understand. One ought not, then, to be hypercritical of Dr. Jandy for not producing a more impressive commentary.

We are indebted to the author for his Postscript describing in detail the sources and procedure by which this book was prepared; and he has included in the Bibliography what appears to be a complete list of the known writings of Cooley, published and unpublished.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Nietzsche. By CRANE BRINTON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. viii+266. \$2.50.

What Nietzsche Means. By GEORGE ALLEN MORGAN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xviii+408. \$4.00.

Reviewing both these books for *Kenyon Review*, Philip Wheelwright acclaimed Morgan's exposition of Nietzsche's thought as "without question the best" to be found in English. And the best it undoubtedly is, in the sense that it is a scrupulously objective and painstakingly thorough and readable account of the whole range of Nietzsche's multifarious inter-

ests. Morgan has confined himself strictly to exposition of the text, in the belief that it is "necessary to establish what in the light of the evidence [Nietzsche] probably *did* mean, quite regardless of why, psychologically or historically, he came to think as he did, what effects his thoughts may have had, or why any one may choose to evaluate them." Of course of Nietzsche it is perhaps more true than of any one else that an exposition must perforce be inherently critical, since Nietzsche's unsystematic writings make it impossible to paraphrase the text in its own sequence. Organization of the material thus becomes inevitable selection, emphasis, and to some extent, creative interpretation. Morgan tells us that he turned to Nietzsche "as an oasis of life in the desert" of the post World War I period. And this motivation may account for the fact that he finds in Nietzsche far more coherence and organic articulation than those who read him in a different mood find. But I am not aware of any place where our author's attitude led him to serious error of interpretation. Indeed, all considered, Morgan has produced a truly distinguished study, and one with which Nietzschean scholarship must reckon in the future.

It is a pity, therefore, in view of the solid virtues of his essay, that Morgan did not give us that other volume of which he speaks in his Preface, a volume of criticism and of history. For if the first, and perhaps the most difficult task, is to find out what Nietzsche did mean, it is, after all, but an instrumental one, and what the thinking man would like to know in respect to Nietzsche—particularly at this moment—is in what sense Nietzsche's thought throws light on our own day. Morgan tells us that Nietzsche's thought is "so profoundly relevant to the modern world that it is in many respects more our contemporary than that of his fellow Victorians." And no profound knowledge of Nietzsche is required to agree with the remark. His prophetic quality is obvious in every page to any fair reader. His long, sensitive antennae poked tremblingly towards the future, way beyond the reach of his contemporaries' vision, and felt—for it was with him chiefly a matter of intellectual sensibility—trends and currents that we have only come around to perceive decades after he became silent. In psychology, in political philosophy, in ethics, in philosophic method, in the philosophy of history, in aesthetics, in value theory, even in sociology perhaps, Nietzsche made germinal contributions. He anticipated psychoanalysis; posited the problem of naturalistic ethics for our day; grasped as no one did in his day and as was only done much later, and then only by Bergson and by the instrumentalists, the implications of evolutionary theory for our concept of mind; he sketched a theory of objective relativism in epistemology and made important contributions to what later came to be known as the sociology of knowledge. But most important of all, he defined clearly the conflict of the first half of our century.

But the relation of his ideas to our own predicaments and problems is not self-evident from an objective account of what he did say and mean, since it is not only Nietzsche that we do not understand adequately but our own day as well. The very task Nietzsche so brilliantly accomplished as the bad conscience of his day is the task that needs to be performed on

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him. In so far as we fail to perform it, the objective exposition of his ideas must necessarily remain correspondingly barren. It is a question, of course, of degree, for no philosophic expositor, and certainly not Morgan, whose own private interest in Nietzsche, as we have already noted, is a somewhat religious one, can fail to refer his subject to his own preoccupations, at least implicitly. Nor is this job to be done once and for all; particularly in the case of a polygonal mind like Nietzsche's, it needs to be done as frequently as changing events throw another side of his thought into posthumous contemporaneity. In the case of Nietzsche the task is all the more urgent because he was, as Morgan correctly points out, "all things to all men." But his motley readers can not be blamed for this. They do not put into Nietzsche what they find in him, even if they wrench what they find out of its proper context and dress it up to fit their own needs. What they take is there, put there by Nietzsche himself, whose voracity led him to snatch at everything in sight, and to become therefore not only the bad conscience of his age, but, if I may be allowed the gauche phrase, its dyspeptic stomach as well.

What Morgan does not do except in passing is what Brinton has tried to do—or at least what he was asked to by his editor. For his is the first of a number of biographical essays to appear under the head of "Makers of Modern Europe," which according to McKay, editor of the series, will attempt to evaluate the significance of the men studied for their epoch. But I can not say that Brinton has succeeded in his task. Three quarters of the book is given over to a popular account of the well known facts of Nietzsche's life and to a journalistic exposition of his ideas. I am troubled in these pages by the fact that they add very little to what we already knew, but I am more troubled by the fact that Brinton often displays signs of irritation and contempt for his subject. Poking fun at Frau Förster-Nietzsche's silly adoration of her brother is easy. But it is hardly worth doing, all the more since a good deal of the important information we have about Nietzsche was collected by her in spite, or perhaps because, of her indiscriminate piety. Poking fun at the absurdly disjointed personality of Nietzsche is also easy. The job that a man undertaking to tell what Nietzsche means to his day has to tackle is a serious, critical, not a carping, job. It is the job of showing how the incredible hodge-podge of childishness, nonsense, and the genuine tragedy and grandeur which was Nietzsche's life went to make up that other incredible hodge-podge of rhetoric, childish boasting, and prophetic insight that was his thought. We can not place Nietzsche in relation to his epoch before we know, for instance, to what extent his cult for power and contempt for democracy was an idiosyncratic throw-back to his fancied Polish ancestry and hence of purely subjective origin, and to what extent it was a reaction against the growing tendency in our culture to go about unbuttoned, to cater exclusively to the lowest and most plebeian needs, a tendency which democratic capitalism so often conceals under the thin disguise of humanitarianism. Nietzsche reacted against the lack of tension, the lack of severity and self-discipline, which has at this moment brought us so near the edge of defeat. Or to take another

instance, we can not place Nietzsche until we know how well he grasped the problem of value for our godless age. In several places Brinton seems to me to do elementary injustice to his subject. It is not fair, to mention one, to assume that the terms "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" are congruous with the terms "classical" and "romantic." In short, Brinton's failure—to put it plainly—seems to me to have its source in the fact that the job of interpreting a thinker's meaning to his age calls for a mastery of the thinker's thought in its own terms, and from at least a disinterested if not a sympathetic point of view, as well as calling for inward familiarity with the intellectual and social drifts of the age. Brinton is well informed, but from the outside, descriptively, and if he has the inward familiarity which the subject calls for, he keeps it, in this book, in the background.

I am glad to report, however, that in the last quarter of the book Brinton imparts valuable information. In Chapter VIII in particular, for here he studies the use the Nazis have made of Nietzsche. In this section Brinton is at his best, since he is dealing with material which calls for descriptive handling. But the big job on Nietzsche remains to be done for our day. Books like Morgan's and studies like Brinton's Chapter VIII will contribute to it. But when it comes to be done it will be done by men who are philosophers and sociologists at once, men who can discern the movements of history in their day and at the same time handle the inward dialectic of ideas with the masterly assurance of men interested in ideas for their own sake. Such a study will not only throw a great deal of light on Nietzsche's day, but it will also illumine our own and will give us a preview of days to come.

ELISEO VIVAS

University of Wisconsin

On Social Freedom. By JOHN STUART MILL. Reprinted from the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, June, 1907, with an Introduction by Dorothy Fosdick. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 69. \$1.00.

This thin volume in large type and beautiful format contains a 38-page essay, written by Mill probably toward the end of his life, and a 25-page Introduction by Miss Fosdick. The latter claims that the essay is significant in the history of social theory because it departs from the individualist position of Mill's famous 1859 treatise *On Liberty*. Whereas he formerly posed the problem of liberty in terms of protecting the individual's private interests from political authority, he now realizes that there are no strictly private interests, that the restraining forces upon action are much broader than simply political powers, and that actually an ordered society exercising restraints on liberty is necessary for the existence of liberty itself. Miss Fosdick thinks therefore that Mill has moved toward a more sociological and socialistic treatment of the problem.

Although Miss Fosdick's points are carefully thought out and well expressed, she might have made some additional ones. In order to place Mill in the history of social thought and to deal logically with the problem of liberty, she could have used explicitly the framework of the action schema.

If she had, she would have discovered that the essay does raise questions which shake Mill's earlier utilitarianism, but that he fails to answer them in non-utilitarian terms.

Society limits human behavior in two ways, first by determining the ends for which individuals strive, and second by limiting the means by which the ends are reached. The first kind of limitation does not infringe the sense of liberty (except to an observer) and is not dealt with in the classic utilitarian treatment. The utilitarians assumed that ends exist and that somehow those of different individuals are ultimately compatible. Mill seems to pierce this assumption when he admits that men seek the good opinion of others and hence want to do what will elicit this good opinion—in short, that convention as well as law limits their freedom. But instead of following this lead, he winds up with the conclusion that freedom is the choice of a "higher" motive as against a "lower" one. This of course begs the whole problem of the determination of ends. What we wish to know is how the members of a society come to have a scale of motives in the first place, a question which Mill does not answer. He remains utilitarian, taking the hierarchy of ends for granted and discussing only the question of the limitation of means. Yet this latter question is not susceptible of discussion by itself, because the reason for the limitation of anyone's means can be found only in the ends of other persons. The question of how the ends of different persons become sufficiently compatible to make possible an ordered society is crucial to a discussion of liberty. It is in overlooking this problem that both Mill and Miss Fosdick find themselves in the same utilitarian boat.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Pennsylvania State College

The Social and Economic Ideas of Benoy Sarkar. By BANESVAR DASS.
Calcutta: Chatterjee & Chatterjee Co., Ltd., 1940. Pp. xix+664.
12 rupees.

Benoy Sarkar is an Indian scholar of great reputation. He has travelled extensively in Europe, America and Japan. To get a comprehensive understanding of Professor Sarkar one should begin with "the Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Ida Sarkar, given in pages 184-199 in this volume. New nations were emerging with different sets of ideas and ideologies. Old ideas were being revised and re-evaluated. Sarkar the iconoclast proclaimed:

It is not Nature, region, or geography that in the last analysis determines man's destiny. It is the human will, man's energy that recreates the topography and natural forces, humanizes the earth and spiritualizes the geography. Then, again, it is not the group, the clan, the nation or the society that ultimately forces the individual to submit to the social *milieu*, the group *mores*, the tradition, and the *status quo*. It is rather the individual personality that compels the *mores* to change and the *milieu* to break, that subverts the *status quo* and reforms the tradition.

Both anthropologically and psychologically it has been the factual nature of man to function as a "transformer" and recreator. The ideal of man, historically and inductively considered, is not peace but restlessness. The Hindu *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 15) caught the right view of progress and culture when it taught in so many words that *nanasrantaya srirasti* (prosperity is not for the person that is not tired with movements and wanderings) (pp. 352-353).

Thus Sarkar brought the old up-to-date and set a new tone.

In the social philosophy embodied in many of Sarkar's writings there is no Eur-America and there is no Asia. There are diverse stages of modernized development in the one area as in the other. Instead of East vs. West his writings establish the thesis medievalism vs. modernism. Japan in Asia is therefore more or less similar or equal to some advanced countries in Europe, while the Balkan states and Latin America of the Western world are more or less identical with India, although these Eur-American countries are politically free and India politically a dependency. According to Sarkar, Indian and European culture and attainments are not fundamentally so different, at least up to 1800. The division into East and West came with the introduction and application of steam to production and transportation. Modernism began. Parts of Eur-America went ahead, and for historical reasons India lagged behind.

The book under review is a compilation of a large number of monographs, brochures, and several articles entitled Sarkarism, interestingly enough, edited by a professor of chemical engineering. The book contains fourteen sections, and Sarkar has written volumes and thousands of pages in Bengali besides. To do justice each section of the book should be reviewed separately (incidentally one appeared in the October issue of the *Review*). The space allowed will not permit such treatment. Reading parts of the present volume will no doubt make the reader wish to secure Sarkar's writing in the original. In the judgment of this reviewer Dass has rendered a valuable service to scholars of Eur-America to whom Sarkar's writings are not easily available. To understand contemporary India, Sarkar—the pragmatist, non-isolationist and non-sectarian—is probably the best source. The present volume is the next best.

M. N. CHATTERJEE

Antioch College

Historia de la Sociología Latinoamericana. By ALFRED POVIÑA. Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1941.

This book comes as a welcome addition to our knowledge of the sociological work in the universities of Central and South America. For a time it appeared that communication (and book-selling) was so poor among the several Latin American republics that only North American sociologists could get a sufficiently general view of developments to give comprehensive treatment to the region as a whole. Poviña demonstrates that this is no longer true, if it ever really was. The author himself recognizes, however, that the reciprocal collaboration among American scholars, necessary for the development of a scientific discipline oriented toward American data and "problems," has been notably lacking. This is not only true in regard to the language barrier between the Americas, or even the Spanish-Portuguese barrier in South America, but also in regard to the lack of adequate exchange of books and personnel in the southern republics. The publication of a book by an Argentine professor (University of Córdoba) by a Mexican publisher gives some hope for the future.

Those familiar with the brief summaries by L. L. Bernard and the treatment in Barnes and Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Vol. 2, will find in Poviña's work a rather fuller discussion of the leading works, as well as some men and works not elsewhere mentioned. He quite properly devotes two of his three principal chapters to Argentina and Brazil, and summarizes developments in the other countries in the third. The appendix contains reprints of reviews by the author of several recent sociological works, and a number of detailed outlines of sociology courses given at the leading universities. The latter feature is perhaps more helpful as a means for knowing the trends and present interests in contemporary Latin American sociology than any other portion of the book.

Despite the increasing popularity of sociology as a scientific discipline in Latin America, and the increasing awareness of American as well as European developments, Poviña's history and review of present conditions reveals a continued preoccupation with theoretical "schools" and the application of European theories to American political and social developments. Research of the type to which North American sociologists pay voluminous tribute is thin and scattered in Central and South American circles. Yet the gradual exclusion of various patent-medicine, cure-all interpretations, the increasing rigor of scientific (not speculative) thought, and a gradual turning of attention to empirical investigation may in the future provide a happy development of sound theoretical principles. Even now the Latin American sociologists need ask no pity from those North Americans who have attempted to throw away all theory or to deny that they observe what they cannot "measure."

WILBERT E. MOORE

Pennsylvania State College

Magic and Science in German Baroque Literature. By FREDERICK HERBERT WAGMAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 178. \$2.25.

This monograph is a contribution to the history of the natural sciences and epistemology in the 17th century as reflected in the representative prose of the period 1640-1710. The method of treatment is based on what has been called "internal analysis": that is, the reconstruction of the ideological content of a text in terms of its inherent logic. The author traces, through literary documents of the period, the retreat of the theistic element from the interpretation of terrestrial phenomena and the decreasing reliance on miraculous intervention in the natural order. He follows up the developing concepts of an autonomous nature and of natural causation, and the growing interest in the empirical and experimental approach. A chapter on "Pan-sophistic Ideas" deals with literary views which reflect a relationship to Paracelsus, the mystic philosopher of the occult world. The study lucidly demonstrates the comparative lag of the state of sciences in the German Baroque period compared to the corresponding aspects of the English and French Enlightenment. The survival of magical motives in the contemporary speculation on medical and physico-chemical phenomena is amply illustrated.

The author of this meritorious volume is a historian of German literature, not a sociologist. His present concern is with the shift in the continuum of ideas, not with the social context in which they are conceived and the actions through which they are transmitted. To the sociologically interested student of communication the meaning of a text depends on the four variables of the questions: *who* says *what* to *whom* through *what channel*. Such an approach ought to be particularly rewarding to the student of the German Enlightenment, a period in which esoteric societies and clubs provide a most important setting for both the philosophical controversies and the political intrigues of the time. The available material concerning the activities of the contemporary language, fraternities, and oratorical societies, their social orientation, and their influence on the literary expressions of the period should shed additional light on the subject of the present book.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

The Social Development of Canada. By S. D. CLARK. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942. Pp. x+484. \$4.00.

In this study, Clark examines certain phases of Canadian social growth. The purpose of the book he sums up pretty aptly when he says it is, "... to stake out a field ... and ... to suggest lines of approach. ..." His aim is essentially exploratory, and, in spite of the comprehensive character of the work, it is not a social history of Canada. The theme, or "thesis," to employ the author's phrase, is the relation of the frontier to social organization. In Canada, the frontier is economic as well as geographical, hence much of Dr. Clark's study concerns itself with the impact of new occupations on the Canadian people, their methods of life, and their way of thinking.

The Social Development of Canada is divided into five sections corresponding to the prevailing economy of the age and place: the Fur Trade of the St. Lawrence Valley; the Fisheries of the Atlantic Provinces; the Timber Trade of the Great Lakes country; the Mining world of the Pacific coast; the Industrial-Capitalist society of Central and Prairie Canada. In this way, Dr. Clark passes in review the entire country, both in the chronological and geographical sense. His first chapters concern themselves with the tentatives of exploitation and settlement by the French in the early XVII century; his later chapters with the modern industrial state. Within the five general divisions, Clark discusses such problems as, Social Welfare; Crime and the Moral Order; Cultural Organization and Education; Religious Institutions and Religious Movements. The author supports his contentions on these topics by selections from contemporary documents, diaries, private letters, and so on. The discussion is remarkably full, and the inclusion of source material suggests to the reader further fields of investigation.

There are some criticisms which may be made justifiably against *The Social Development of Canada*. The author frequently represents the bizarre as the ordinary, or the temporary as the permanent. The prevalence of

heavy drinking in the early nineteenth century, he properly notices as one of the marked features of Upper Canadian life, but he does not make clear that this was, in large measure, a passing phase of pioneer conditions, nor does he give much attention to the efforts of contemporaries to mitigate the evil through temperance societies and similar organizations. On the whole, one wonders whether the frontier was entirely the explosive force that Clark represents it. Present-day United States historians have done much to blunt the edge of Turner's thesis, or the thesis as employed by some of his disciples, and Canadian scholars would do well to practice a similar critical reserve.

The excellences of *The Social Development of Canada* far outweigh, however, anything that may be said in criticism of it. We have a remarkably successful effort to restate the chief factors of Canada's growth in a new fashion. To that degree, the author has got far away from the conventional political or constitutional interpretation of the Canadian scene. He has tried to see things as a whole: hence he presents a carefully integrated argument, and not a procession of independent monographs. In addition, and perhaps herein he makes his most lasting contribution, Clark suggests, to sociologists and social historians alike, the wealth of material that Canada presents.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University

SIMON, YVES: *La grande crise de la République Française: Observations sur la vie politique des Français de 1918 à 1938*. Montreal: Editions de l'arbre, 1941. Pp. 237. \$1.25.

The *apport* of this little book, fourth in a Montreal series on present-day problems, lies in its frank recognition of a point of view. There are better histories of the period, notably the masterly *Development of Modern France* by D. W. Brogan. The contribution of M. Simon is less complete, less objective, but, sociologically speaking, of great value.

He emphasizes the role played in preparing France for her present plight by the social institutions of the Church and the press, or if those names seem only vague abstractions, by the Catholic bourgeoisie and the periodicals it reads, especially *L'Action Française*.

While few would deny the importance of the factors of class, religion, and year-long reading of virulently biased political journalism, the working together of these deep-lying traditional forces with the ephemeral product of a vitriolic and unscrupulous press has not received as detailed treatment as here. The author was by birth and training a member of the middle class Catholic bourgeoisie, but as an intellectual acquired enough detachment to judge it, and as a loyal Catholic retained enough of the deeper values of his religion to resent the baser political uses to which some people put it.

It would be impossible to exaggerate, says the author, the role played by the *L'Action Française*, and when good Catholics felt bound by the ban on it not to make it their daily reading, by other journals which echoed its

acidulous tone. This publication divided France into those who would undo the effects of the French Revolution and *ramener* France to the good old ways, and those on the other hand who accepted the Revolution and its fruits. It was this internal dissension which prevented France from perceiving the gulf that separated peace from appeasement, and made them susceptible to offers of help from without against the hated enemy within.

By the way, Simon has illuminating things to say about anticlericalism, the Dreyfus case, the attitude of German Catholics in 1929 and 1930, the repercussions of events in other countries upon French public opinion, and the leading personalities of recent political history. If there is a single central point in the explanation he offers of the fatal weakness of his country, it is the division of French opinion between the two poles of nationalism and socialism ("those who are most interested in national defense are those who care least about social progress," and vice versa). Maintain a proper balance between the two and all goes well; but both are costly, and often one must be sacrificed to the other. French nationalists ended by deserting their historic function of being "guardians of the city," many of them being softened by Nazi propaganda, and a few transformed into traitors. For many their hatred of the Popular Front was so absorbing a passion that it left no room for anything else, and to conquer a France already divided and decayed was easy.

Any discussion of this period must touch the points raised in the major writings of historical sociology. The reader of Yves Simon will certainly think of Pareto, Sorokin, and Toynbee. The less bookish and more practical will find it an eloquent plea for a new purity, unity, and intransigence.

W. REX CRAWFORD

University of Pennsylvania

The Real Italians: A Study in European Psychology. By CARLO SFORZA. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 156. \$2.00.

Count Carlo Sforza is today the acknowledged leader of freedom-loving Italians. Prior to the advent of fascism, he served his country brilliantly as foreign minister. After the March on Rome, he defied Mussolini and his gangsters and eventually left the country only because he felt he could better serve the cause of freedom by so doing. He is a man of culture, acumen and wit, and these qualities are amply displayed in the little volume with which the present review is concerned.

The character of Italians, Sforza tells us, has been determined by their tragic and checkered history. He lashes out at those who fabricated the legend of Italian cowardice, asserting that in reality these calumniators were describing "a collective moral superiority." He reminds us that although a common cultural heritage has made all the inhabitants of the peninsula profoundly Italian, they have remained Lombards, Venetians, Neapolitans, etc. Significant in this connection is the persistence of local dialects, but nothing is further from the truth than the oft-repeated statement that there is no real unity among Italians. Sforza has some trenchant things to say about Italian skepticism and individualism. "Of all the peoples," he re-

marks, "the Italians are perhaps the most particularist." Mussolinian totalitarianism is consequently foreign to their character. Turning to another aspect of his theme, Sforza maintains that the masses of Italy and France resemble each other much more than do the intellectuals and aristocrats of those two countries. He is careful to point out that Italians, despite their perennial endeavor to establish close contact with German culture, regarded their Teutonic neighbors as devoid of "humane fellow feeling." He is emphatic in asserting that the traditional friendship between Italians and Englishmen cannot be destroyed by the war which Mussolini declared on Great Britain in 1940. Faith in the principles of democracy, he declares, can inspire Italians living in the United States to act in defense of freedom here and throughout the world, but they must not be permitted to remain in the clutches of leaders who are disloyal to American ideals. Heartening indeed to the champions of international cooperation is Sforza's confidence in the readiness of Italians, once freed from fascist tyranny, to take their place in that European federation which he regards as "the reality of the future."

The author states in the preface: "I have written in the hope of making certain writers about Italy hesitate over ready-made axioms and truisms concerning Italians, about which those who know can only smile." Misconceptions have a way of perpetuating themselves despite the abundance of evidence adduced against them, and so it would be foolish to be too sanguine about the persuasiveness of this little book. But the reviewer for one is inclined to believe that Sforza's effort on behalf of a better understanding of the Italian people will not prove entirely futile.

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

The University of Chicago

The Gaucho: Cattle Hunter—Cavalryman—Ideal of Romance. By MADALINE WALLIS NICHOLS. Durham: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix+152. \$3.00.

The Gaucho is an account of the origin of a social type and of its transformation into a figure of romance and a symbol of nationalism. Sociologists, largely innocent of Hispanic American history and previously uncontaminated by gauchos, will not be instantaneously over-awed by the statement that the book is the first properly documented history of the gaucho class to appear in print. When, however, it is noted that, contrary to Webster's most recent dictionary, not all gauchos were mestizos, that if a gaucho's son adopted other ways of life and dress he ceased to be a gaucho, the student of race relations will recognize ideas akin to his own as well as a fertile field of inquiry. When it is further noted that the author, Latin American Studies' research assistant, possesses a nose for sociological roots, relates her gauchos to the pastoral society within which they developed, connects them with the contraband trade of the colonial frontier, and derives gaucho folkways from contemporary records, especially accounts by "observant travelers," the specialist in social origins will openly concede merit. Finally, when it is made clear that the gaucho drove out Portuguese, Spaniard, and Indian, won independence for a half dozen Latin American states, made caudillism succeed

and injected federalism into modern La Plata governments, the political sociologist will sense something new under the sun and be provoked to test the theory further. And in doing so he will be aided by an Essay on Authorities and a guaranteed bibliography of 1431 titles. Included are many articles and a doctoral dissertation (University of California, 1937) by the author, together with 46 special bibliographies. In the classified section on Literature (Anthologies, Fiction, Theatre, Verse, Periodical Literature), extending from titles 507 through 1347, "70 percent of the works noted *have been read* [sic] and are thus known to contain gauchos."

One is tempted to suggest that the gaucho is to the La Plata countries and to their neighboring states what the cowboy is to the western plains of United States. Such a comparison, however, maligns the North American species at one extreme, unduly romanticizes him at the other. For the now-legendary figure of Banda Oriental and the pampas started lower, achieved giddier heights: (1) "the real gaucho"—colonial vagrant, bootlegger of hides, thief, outlaw cattle hunter, "despicable contrabander," "scum of society"; (2) two centuries later, "the gaucho of romance"—hero, symbol of patriotic achievement and nationalism, author-imputed of ideals.

Miss Nichols lives up abundantly to the late Dr. Charles E. Chapman's characterization as "the leading authority in the United States on the gaucho and similar types in Hispanic America." Is there any author of a sociological monograph on an occupational type who can supply credentials from his own field that are half so convincing?

WALTER T. WATSON

Southern Methodist University

The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. Pp. xiv+364. \$3.50.

Here is a delightfully interesting book in which the author has combined the talents of artist and social historian. It presents a vivid picture of the social structure of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, during the colonial and early national periods. The origins of American civilization in general and of southern culture in particular are analyzed with painstaking care. A distinct virtue of this book is that it confutes many of the widely accepted but erroneous conceptions of social life in the old South and adds no new ones. Contrary to popular impression, the antebellum South was not entirely a land of sprawling and pretentious plantations, wealthy tobacco and rice planters with large holdings of slaves, and romantic river-boats. This is the old South of the story-book writers, not the real South which, this book shows, exerted such a great influence on our national history.

The forces that moulded the social life of the old South, as this book ably demonstrates, were not exclusively English. The prevailing language and many of the early customs were transplanted from England, but other European elements were also involved. There were settlers from Scotland,

Ireland, Wales, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. Each group contributed something and each surrendered some part of its heritage. The transplanted cultural elements were necessarily adapted to local conditions. Among these conditions the climate, the vast expanses of untilled soil which led to widespread extensive cultivation, and slavery are shown to be the most significant. These factors along with the conflicts and adjustments among the various nationality groups gave rise to social and cultural patterns which, although they incorporated many European features, were distinctly American.

The book neglects what may be regarded as two significant factors in the emergence of an American way of life. The migrants who settled beyond the mountains were isolated from the European influences that prevailed along the coast. Although the author assembles ample evidence to support the contention, he does not state explicitly that here arose the first definitely American culture. Then, too, practically no consideration is given the significance of the very low volume of migrants from Europe and the parallel rapid increase in population during the period from about 1765 to 1820. In the absence of a steady influx of Europeans and with European contacts greatly diminished, the Americans were enabled to develop a social fabric with many aspects peculiarly their own.

The myth of the Solid South is very thoroughly exposed in this volume. The South was not in colonial times—and never has been, for that matter—an area of cultural or economic uniformity. There were in colonial days at least five fairly well-defined divisions. These included the tobacco country, the rice and indigo country, the mercantile belt, the naval stores and timber belt, and the back country. These areas, although bound to one another by certain economic ties, had social traits and interests that were markedly different. Even within the divisions there were many differences, based partly on economic conditions and partly on cultural backgrounds. In colonial days the vast majority of the people were tobacco growers. The large land-owners were the aristocrats—self-made aristocrats who copied the customs of England—but there were also small land-owners and farmers who owned little or no land and no slaves. Here was a country somewhat heterogeneous as to nationality, with many conflicting groups and interests, unified to some extent by agriculture and slavery.

Whether or not one agrees with the author's contention that the South of today can be understood only if there is a real comprehension and appreciation of southern colonial life, one has to commend the skill with which this study of the old South is constructed. The material is carefully selected, meticulously authenticated, and interestingly presented.

E. W. GREGORY, JR.

University of Alabama

The Walter Clinton Jackson Essays in the Social Sciences. Edited by VERA LARGENT. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xi+245. \$3.00.

In a symposium out of the South purporting to bring the perennial

question of democracy up to date, one is amazed to find no paper nor section of a paper on the Negro. Just where Southern educators propose to put the Negro in the new democracy is a puzzle so far as this book is concerned.

Except for passing mention here and there all we get on the Negro is two paragraphs from a speech delivered in 1900 asking for more intelligent colored laborers. One cannot help recalling the learned discourses of the philosophers of the ancient Greek city-states and noting that their much-talked-about democracy rested—in “classical grandeur”—on the backs of slaves.

What makes the omission all the more surprising is the fact that the writers are not Southern Bourbons but liberals who write in the liberal tradition. Their symposium is a laudable project in democracy in that it brings together the members of a college faculty so that they may speak out freely in their respective fields.

As is generally the case, the symposium is uneven, spotty, and loosely coordinated. The last essay does not belong at all, being a brief history of the work of the European social geographers.

The most illuminating essay, perhaps, is that which brings to light the unsuccessful struggle waged by the liberal, Claude Kitchen, against the reactionary, John Garner, to prevent the Democratic Party from going over to big business. We are told that during the Congress of 1921-22 the Democratic Party “sold itself to mammon,” and to Republican mammon at that.

No doubt the most provocative paper is the one entitled “The Colonial Status of the South.” Its writer not only fights the Civil War over again but the Revolutionary War as well. The ills of the South, he says, have been brought on by Northern finance capitalists who from the very start of our nation exploited the South in imperialist fashion. Had North and South parted ways as separate nations in 1789, all would have been better for both.

To buttress this thesis, its proponent makes of the antebellum South a Jeffersonian paradise of small property owners. He disclaims the social and political rule of the plantation lords, says nothing about the class struggles between small farmers and large planters, and leaves out of the picture the Negro slaves.

ARTHUR KATONA

Fort Hays Kansas State College

American
SOCIOLOGICAL
Review

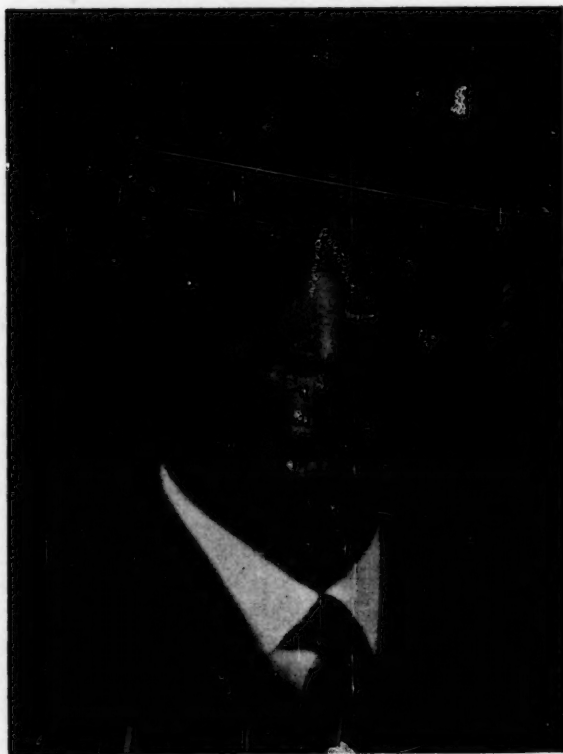


PROGRAM
SUPPLEMENT



VOLUME 7 • NUMBER 6 • PART II

PROGRAM *of the*
THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
American Sociological Society



GEORGE E. VINCENT
(1864-1941)

Headquarters: THE HOLLENDEN HOTEL, CLEVELAND
TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY
DECEMBER 29, 30, AND 31, 1942

NOTE: Meeting Cancelled on account of the War

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

President

DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University

First Vice-President

HAROLD A. PHELPS, University of Pittsburgh

Second Vice-President

KATHARINE JOCHER, University of North Carolina

Secretary

CONRAD TAEUBER, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Former Presidents

Edward A. Ross	L. L. Bernard
J. P. Lichtenberger	E. B. Reuter
Charles A. Ellwood	E. W. Burgess
Robert E. Park	F. Stuart Chapin
John L. Gillin	H. P. Fairchild
William I. Thomas	Ellsworth Faris
John M. Gillette	Frank H. Hankins
William F. Ogburn	Edwin H. Sutherland
Howard W. Odum	Robert M. MacIver
E. S. Bogardus	Stuart A. Queen

Elected Members of Executive Committee

Joseph K. Folsom	E. Franklin Frazier
Robert S. Lynd	J. O. Hertzler
Herbert Blumer	Rupert B. Vance

Committee on Local Arrangements

J. E. Cutler, Chairman

Henry M. Busch	James T. Laing
C. E. Gehlke	N. N. Puckett
Rex M. Johnson	G. W. Sarvis
A. A. Johnston	Newell L. Sims



All meetings except the business sessions are open to the public and, unless otherwise indicated, are held at the Hollenden Hotel. Reservations for breakfast meetings should be made at the registration desk as early as possible. Meetings designated by the asterisk are not under the direct auspices of the Society.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, December 29 to 31, 1942.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 8:30 A.M.

Registration. Registration desk, Hotel Hollenden, Mezzanine Floor.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 9:00-10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting. Reports of committees and representatives of the Society.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

Social Psychology. Kimball Young, Queens College, Chairman.

"Some Problems in Field Interviews When Using the Control-Group Technique in the Community." F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

"The Validity of the Imputation of Motives." George Simpson, Queens College.

"Factors in the Courtship of College Men," Stuart F. Winch, University of Chicago.

"Student Attitudes Toward Teachers and their Rôles in Relation to Student Achievement," Wilbur Brookover, Indiana State Teachers College.

Population. Elbridge Sibley, U. S. Bureau of the Budget, Chairman.

"The Tolan Committee's Researches on Wartime Migration," Herbert Roback, Research Staff of the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration.

"Labor Market Conditions Affecting Negro Migration, World Wars I and II," Lyonel C. Florant, Population Study, Virginia State Planning Board.

"Relocation of Japanese Residents and Its Social Consequences," Mrs. Esther W. Staudt, War Department.

Conference on General Social Science Course. Joint Session with American Economics Association, Julian L. Woodward, Cornell University, Chairman.

Panel discussion on "The Content of the General Course in Social Science."

Discussants: Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, anthropology; Maynard Krueger, University of Chicago, economics; Lloyd A. Cook, Ohio State University, sociology; S. McKee Rosen, Central Y.M.C.A., Chicago, political science; Julian L. Woodward, Office of War Information, chairman.

Rural Sociological Society.* Impact of the War upon Rural Community Life.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

General Session. Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Presiding.

"The War and the American Negro Minority," Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University.

"Potential Changes in the Status of Women during the War," Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History.

"The Effect of the War on Minority Groups in This Country and Their Relation to It," Gerhart Saenger, College of the City of New York.

Discussant: Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

Rural Sociological Society.* Farm Population and the War.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Community and Ecology. A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University. Chairman.

Round Table, "Methodological and Theoretical Contributions Made by Some Recent Community Studies."

"What the Anthropologist Can Learn from the Sociologist and Vice Versa," Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin.

"Stability-Mobility Studies in the Department of Agriculture Rural Life Series," Perry P. Denune, Ohio State University.

"Community Studies in the Deep South," Robert N. Ford, Mississippi State College.

The Family. Joint session with the National Conference on Family Relations, Robert G. Foster, Merrill-Palmer School, Chairman.

Topic: Problems of Marriage in Wartime, Meyer Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Presiding.

"Changing Cultural Patterns Evident in American Family Life and Some Indicated Post-war Adjustments," Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History.

"Legal Problems of Marriage Created by the War Situation," Max Rhinestien, Law School, University of Chicago

Discussant, E. Dana Brooks, Director, Division of Domestic Relations, Common Pleas Court, Cleveland, Ohio.

Rural Sociological Society.* Joint session with American Association for Labor Legislation. Mexican and Indian Labor in the United States.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 6:00 P.M.

Annual Meeting and Dinner of Alpha Kappa Delta.*

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING 7

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 8:00 P.M.

General Session. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Presiding.
Assembly Room.

"Changing Concepts in Democratic Ideology," Frank H. Hankins, Smith College.

"The Sociologist in the Rôle of Prophet," E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin.

Discussants: Read Bain, Miami University. Mildred Fairchild, Bryn Mawr College.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 9:00-10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting of the Society.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

Measurement in Sociology. C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Chairman.

"An Approach to the Quantification of Classes of Attributes," Louis Guttman, Cornell University.

"Statistical Methods for Regional Delineation," Margaret Jarman Haggood, University of North Carolina.

Discussants: William Fuson, University of Michigan. Howard R. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College.

Social Control of Labor Relations. Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation. John M. Carmody, Member U. S. Maritime Commission, Presiding.

"The Public Viewpoint," Elbert Thomas, Chairman, United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

"Industry's Viewpoint," Alvin E. Dodd, President, American Management Association.

"Labor's Viewpoint," Robert Watt, American Federation of Labor.

Discussants: To be announced.

The Family. Joint Session with the National Conference on Family Relations. Topic: Wartime Trends Affecting Work with Families, Adolph Meyer, Johns Hopkins University, Presiding.

"The Function of Marriage Counselling During Wartime," Gladys Gaylord, Maternal Health Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

Discussant, Mrs. Emily Mudd, Marriage Counsel, Philadelphia, Pa.

"How Can American Families Meet the Impact of the War?" Leonard Mayo, Dean School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University.

Discussant, Kimball Young, Queens College.

Rural Sociological Society.* The Health and Physical Competence of the Rural Population.

Committee on Conceptual Integration.* Reports on Research.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

General Session. Community Organization for War and Post-War Activities.

"The Civilian Front in War-Time," Jonathan Daniels, Assistant Director, Office of Civilian Defense.

"Local Organization for War and Peace in Rural Areas," M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussants: Stuart A. Queen, Washington University. Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Social Psychology.

"Social Psychological Aspects of Farmer-Bureaucracy Relationships," Robin Williams, University of Kentucky.

"Sociability and Insight in Psychotic Patients," Mary Bess Owen, Logansport (Ind.) State Hospital.

"A Social Psychological Theory of Hypnosis," Theodore R. Sarbin, University of Minnesota.

The Challenge of Industry to Sociology. Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation. Grace L. Coyle, Western Reserve University, Presiding.

"Migratory Labor," Carey McWilliams, California Division of Immigration and Housing.

"The Impact of War Employment on the Community," Alexander Fleisher, National Resources Planning Board.

Discussants: Richard C. Fuller, University of Michigan. Mary van Kleeck, Russell Sage Foundation.

Population.

"The Health and Vitality of the Population in Wartime," Harold F. Dorn, National Institute of Health.

"The Occupational Adjustment of One Thousand Selectees," Eli Ginzberg, School of Business, Columbia University.

"Refugees from Naziism as an Increment to the Human Resources of the United States," Dorothy C. Kahn, Family Service Department, National Refugee Service, Inc.

Community and Ecology.

"The Social Organization of the Slum," William F. Whyte, University of Oklahoma.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING 9

"The Impact of War on Some Communities in the Southwest," E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona.

"A Wisconsin Rural Community: Merrimac," Will H. Moody, University of Wisconsin.

Discussants: E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois; James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati; N. L. Sims, Oberlin College.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 8:00 P.M.

General Session of the Society. Joint session with the Rural Sociological Society and the National Conference on Family Relations. J. E. Cutler, Western Reserve University, Presiding.

"Sociology in the Service of Agriculture and Rural Life," C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, President of the Rural Sociological Society.

"Sociology a Means to Democracy," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, President of the American Sociological Society.

"The Impact of the War upon Marriage and the Family," Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, President of the National Conference on Family Relations.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

Social Theory. Theodore Abel, Columbia University, Chairman.

"The Relation of Sociology and Anthropology," Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin.

Panel Discussion: James W. Woodard, Temple University; Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois; and George Devereaux, University of Wyoming.

Sociology in Business and Industry. Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University, Chairman.

"Are There Societal Technicians in Business?" Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University.

"Social Implications of Various Policies of War Finance," Earl Muntz, New York University.

"The Current Problem of Democracy in Economic Affairs," Charles J. Bushnell, University of Toledo.

"The Sociology of Business—An Opportunity," Claude Robinson, Opinion Research Corporation.

Discussants: Henry G. Weaver, General Motors Corporation, Detroit; A. J. Todd, Northwestern University.

Rural Sociological Society.* Farm Laborers in War-Time.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 11:00 A.M.

Business Meeting of the Society.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1:00-2:45 P.M.

Measurement in Sociology. C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Chairman.

"Experiments with Repeated Interviews in Different Fields of Public Opinion Research," Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Office of Radio Research, Columbia University.

"The Effect of Specific New Events on Morale as Determined by Repeated Tests," Robert E. L. Faris, Department of Sociology, Bryn Mawr College.

"Suggestions on Methods of Measuring Differential Rates of Change among Institutions," C. Arnold Anderson and Bryce Ryan, Iowa State College.

Discussants: F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College.

Contributed Papers. Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Chairman.

"Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South," Afif I. Tannous, University of Minnesota.

"Family Status of Men of Military Age," Paul Glick, Bureau of the Census;

"Current Adjustment Problems of the Evacuated Japanese-American Family," Leonard Bloom, University of California;

"The Impact of the War on the Community," J. B. Gittler, University of Georgia;

"A Sociological Theory of Home Adjustment," Svend Riemer, Cornell University.

"Block Organization in an Urban Community," Margaret T. Cussler and Mary L. DeGive.

"Size of Home Community in Relation to Attitude and Personality Traits," William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Rural Sociological Society.* Round Table on Rural Sociological Research Under War-time Conditions.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 2:45-4:30 P.M.

Criminology. J. P. Shalloo, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

"Effects of the War on Juvenile Delinquency," George Gardner, M.D., Director Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston, Mass.

"War and Adult Criminality," Walter Bromberg, M.D., Former Senior Psychiatrist Court of General Sessions, New York City.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING 11

"Prisoners' Attitudes Toward the War," Wilson M. Meeks, Sociologist, Joliet (Ill.) Penitentiary.

"The Habitual Criminal," George K. Brown, St. Lawrence University.

Sociometry. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, Presiding.

"Sociology and Social Measurement," Read Bain, Miami University.

"The Relation of Sociometry to Social Measurement and to the Social Sciences," S. C. Dodd, American University of Beirut.

Discussants: J. L. Moreno, Sociometric Institute; F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

Round Table on Social Problems in the Housing of War Workers. J. B. Maller, Federal Public Housing Authority, Presiding.

Participants: Members of the Society's Committee on the Social Aspects of Housing; P. G. Beck, Farm Security Administration; F. L. Carmichael, University of Denver; F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; Howard W. Green, Cleveland Health Council; Warren J. Vinton, Federal Public Housing Authority; Francis Brown, American Council on Education; Howard G. Brunsman, U. S. Bureau of the Census; Louis Wirth, University of Chicago.

Committee on Conceptual Integration.* Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester, Presiding. Business Meeting.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the New Executive Committee.

* Meetings designated by the asterisk are not under the direct auspices of the Society.

OTHER CONVENTIONS

Other Societies meeting in Cleveland, with the names of their Secretaries are:

American Accounting Association, Robert L. Dixon, Jr., University of Chicago

American Association for Labor Legislation, John B. Andrews, New York City.

American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, Chester A. Kline, University of Pennsylvania.

American Business Law Association, Robert E. Lee, Temple University.

American Economic Association, James Washington Bell, Northwestern University.

American Farm Economic Association, Asher Hobson, University of Wisconsin.

American Finance Association, Louis J. Long, Allegheny College.

American Marketing Association, Albert Haring, Indiana University.

American Statistical Association, Richard L. Funkhouser, Washington, D. C.

Econometric Society, Alfred Cowles, III, University of Chicago.

Institute of Mathematical Statistics, E. G. Olds, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Rural Sociological Society, Robert A. Polson, Cornell University.

NOTE

The picture of Dr. George E. Vincent which appears on the cover of this program was obtained through the courtesy of the Rockefeller Foundation.


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